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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

12 DECEMBER RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

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Preliminary Results

Election Commission Updates Election Figures 15 Dec

LD1512140193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] According to the data from the Central Election Commission received by 7:00 on Wednesday [15 December] morning from 168 districts, as before the Liberal Democratic Party leads at the elections on federal party lists. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and his supporters have collected 23.93% of votes. The Russia's Choice bloc received 14.48% of the votes, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation occupies third place, with 13.59%.

Other parties received less votes: Agrarian Party—8.96%, Russia's Women—8.48%, the bloc Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin—7.35%, Party of Russian Unity and Concord—6.66%, Democratic Party—5.51%.

A total of 5 of the 13 parties and associations failed to overcome the 5 percent barrier. Elections on federal party lists were held in 224 districts except Chechnya. Half of 450 members of the State Duma have been elected on these lists.

The Central Election Commission reports that as of 7:30 a.m. of December 15, 55.55% of voters participated in the voting on the draft Constitution. Up to 57.44% expressed their support for the draft of the Basic Law.

Agrarian Party	4113390	8.96
Bloc Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin	3377910	7.35
Russia's Future-New Names	647659	1.41
Russia's Choice	6650525	14.48
Civic Union in the name of Stability, Justice and Progress	879878	1.92
Democratic Party of Russia	2528945	5.51
Dignity and Compassion	326883	0.71
Communist Party of Russian Federation	6241119	13.59
Constructive-Ecological Movement Cedar	339883	0.74
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	0990243	23.93
Party of Russian Unity and Concord	3059542	6.66
Union of Women of Russia	3896631	8.48
Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms	2008069	4.37

As of 07:30 on December 15, 1993

Total number of registered voters in 167 districts	98,526,345
Percent of voters with respect to general number of voters in the Russian Federation	93.58%
Total number of ballot-papers issued	54,729,921
Percent of ballot-papers issued related to number of registered voters	55.55%
Total number of votes for the Constitution	30,360,608
Percent of votes for the Constitution's adoption	57.44%

Paper Sums Up Initial Election Results

PM1412194393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts report: "The Choice Is Made. It Merely Remains To Add Up the Results"]

[Text] Although preliminary statistics on the outcome of the elections to the Federal Assembly and the nationwide vote on the draft Constitution are already known, it will be at least a week before the Central Electoral Commission will be able to announce the final, definitive results. But here are some new preliminary statistics: In 77 electoral districts for elections to the State Duma, the Liberal Democratic Party is in first place, having secured 24.58 percent of all votes cast by voters in all-Federation districts. The "Russia's Choice" bloc is in second place with 15.03 percent of the votes. So far, third place is occupied by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation with 11.16 percent of the electorate's votes. Telegrams coming into Moscow from the localities with the results of the ballot are still being processed in the Central Electoral Commission.

But it is possible to speak with the utmost clarity on the main issue. The Constitution has been adopted. Almost 56 million voters (53.2 percent) took part in the referendum on the country's new Basic Law. Of these, almost 60 percent of the voters said "yes." This means that Russia is entering a new historical phase of its development. A phase of stable and progressive development. In an address to the citizens of Russia, the president noted that the new Constitution represents our common hope for revival. It creates the political preconditions for the implementation of rights to a better life, to a guarantee of all civic rights, and to a decent future for our children. In his capacity as Russian Federation president, Boris Yeltsin stressed, he will do everything necessary to ensure the irreversibility of democratic processes, and to "erect a firm constitutional barrier to all attempts to reinterpret your democratic choice."

Russia's new Basic Law does indeed have decisive significance at the current stage of implementing reforms.

However, the assumed disposition of political forces in Russia's new Federal Assembly provides much food for thought. Even today it is clear that forces which do not bode well for the decisive unity and constructivism in work which was presupposed will be represented in Russia's new Federal Assembly. Many observers note that new friction between the legislative and executive authorities can be expected before too long.

The preliminary results of the ballot on party lists reveal an obvious success for the Liberal Democratic Party. All the indications are that this party will have a really solid representation in the State Duma.

At a press conference held 13 December, "Russia's Choice" Leader Yegor Gaydar commented on the emerging situation as follows. He said that it is necessary for all of society's sober-minded forces to unite against the radical nationalist Zhirinovskiy. He did not rule out the possibility of cohabiting with Russia's communists in any such coalition.

Naturally, the results of the ballot on party lists and in first-past-the-post districts are of particular interest now. "Unfortunately, I cannot give the overall results for the electoral associations, but approximately one-half of them will fail to break through the 5-percent boundary"—this was the preliminary evaluation given by Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov at a press conference 13 December.

On the morning of 14 December, information on the results of the ballot in first-past-the-post districts started to come in. Andrey Kozyrev received a deputy's mandate for Russia's new parliament after winning the State Duma elections in Murmansk Electoral District. In Tula Oblast, Vasiliy Starodubtsev is winning by a large margin at the elections for the Federation Council. And in Maritime Kray, for instance, Kray Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko's margin over other candidates for the Federation Council is indisputable. In Kaliningrad, Vladimir Shumeyko, first vice premier of the Russian Government, and Yuriy Matochkin, head of the oblast administration, have been elected to the upper chamber. Information has come in from Saratov on a victory for Nikolay Lysenko, chairman of the Russian National Republican Party, who was standing for election to the State Duma. Incidentally, many members of the former Supreme Soviet have again become deputies. Vladimir Podoprigora, Aman Tuleyev, and Vyacheslav Lyubimov have all been elected to the upper chamber. Sergey Baburin has become a State Duma deputy. Eduard Rossel and Aleksandr Aslanidi, famous for their fight to proclaim the Ural Republic which was abolished recently by decree of the president, have both been elected to the Federation Council. Anatoliy Lukyanov, parliamentary speaker back in the days of the Union parliament, has also become a deputy.

On the State Duma platform we will see Andrey Makarov, Vasiliy Lipitskiy, Viktor Ilyukhin, Alla Gerber, Yuriy Vlasov, and many other people well known throughout the country.

Such are the first, and we stress, far from complete statistics on the outcome of the ballot. This fact gives grounds for every kind of rumor and fabrication. Unfortunately, they have not bypassed the Army. Reports are circulating that servicemen allegedly voted "only for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]."

One thing is clear—even before the new parliament has been elected, parties and blocs are already organizing petty intrigues around the Armed Forces.

Speculation on this theme is unacceptable. After all, there is nothing more dangerous than attempts to draw the Armed Forces into a political show like the recent celebration to ring in "the new political year."

Future Correlation of Forces in Parliament Viewed

LD1412163193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1547 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Democrats will hardly make the parliamentary majority in the newly-elected Federal Assembly.

Bearing in mind the preliminary rating of the Russia's Choice bloc, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and the Yavlinskiy bloc, they will enjoy a total of 25-27 per cent of votes (15 per cent goes to the Russia's Choice, the other two have six per cent each) or approximately 60 out of the 225 parliament mandates. At the same time, the Zhirinovskiy party, communists and agrarians will gain a total of 40-45 per cent of votes to enjoy half of the federal district mandates and one fourth of the State Duma mandates.

One-mandate electoral districts, whose winners include Anatoliy Lukyanov, Sergey Baburin, Amangeldy Tuleyev and Aleksandr Nevzorov, will even more expand the opposition in the Federal Assembly.

As of noon on December 14, the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party gained 24.58 per cent of votes in 77 out of the 89 electoral districts, the Russia's Choice—15.03 per cent and the communists - 11.16 per cent, according to a report of the Central Electoral Commission. On the whole, eight election coalitions seem to win mandates of the Federal Assembly: the Liberal-Democratic Party, the Russia's Choice, the Communist Party, the Agrarian Party, the Women of Russia, the Yavlinskiy bloc, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and the Russian Democratic Party.

The Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms failed to gain the State Duma mandates due to the late beginning of the election campaign—only a week before the voting. According to movement leader Aleksandr Yakovlev, Sobchak spent part of the election campaign in Germany and Popov in America.

Yakovlev said the parliament will start working with attacks at the constitution and sabotage of all resolutions to continue the reforms.

In his opinion, democrats should not accuse each other of disconnection although it was also a reason for the election campaign results. The elections were won by those who criticized the government, and the latter should admit that lowering of the living standards, the absence of genuine demonopolization of the economy and a high crime rate are major factors of the Russia's Choice election results.

The academician believes the authorities should be guided by people, the power source to decide who will form the country's future.

In contrast to leaders of the Russia's Choice, the reaction of the president and the prime minister to the election results was not too passionate. They stressed satisfaction with the adoption of the constitution.

One should do justice to the president who urged the constitutional conference to limit the parliament authority to law- making.

The democrats are determined to unite in the parliament which gives hope for slight levelling of the opposition majority.

An appeal of the Initiate Group to hold an organizational meeting on Tuesday night at the House of Russian Press calls on the public to unite "and resist the increasing fascism threat in Russia".

Ryabov Announces Runoff Elections

LD1512162593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1111 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Along with the publication of official election returns, the Central Electoral Commission will announce a date for run-off polls in constituencies where elections did not take place. Addressing a working conference in Moscow on Wednesday [15 December], the Commission's Chairman Nikolay Ryabov put the number of such districts at 7-8 and called next March as the most likely month for voting there.

It is known that elections did not come off in all 5 Tatarstan's constituencies because of the meagre turnout there and in the Chelyabinsk region. In Khanty Mansiysk, only one of the two required Federation Council members was chosen.

Official Describes Formula for Seat Calculation

LD1512163393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1236 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Summary] Anastasiya Tur, member of the Central Electoral Commission, described the procedure for defining the number of seats which deputies from electoral blocs and associations will receive. She said this will be a computerized operation which will reduce error to minimum.

The total number of valid votes received on the federal list, excluding those under 5 percent, will be divided by 225—the total number of seats allocated in the State Duma for deputies from political associations, she said. The obtained result is "the election product".

Then the number of votes gathered by each qualifying association, of which there are currently eight, will be divided by this product. The whole number obtained, excluding the remainder, will be the number of seats that each qualifying association will receive.

All the remainders will be totalled up, and thus a certain whole number will be obtained, the so-called "undistributed seats". They will go to those lists which had the highest remainder in the first place. For example: Bloc one has obtained 9.75 seats, bloc two and three—15.22 and 16.85 accordingly. If the remainder total is two, then bloc one and three will receive an extra seat each.

The commission will be acting in strict accordance with the lists registered before 10 November. Even changing the order of names is not allowed.

It is difficult to define by this method the total number of representatives from different parties and associations in the State Duma, because it will be greatly influenced by results of elections in one-seat constituencies.

Recent Election Results From Regions Reported

Russia's Choice Wins Seats in Moscow

LD1412151393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1131 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Dec—Following the elections to the Moscow City Duma, all 35 deputies have now been determined: 19 from Russia's Choice, two from the Moscow Civic Union, two from the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, two from the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, one from Citizens for Democracy, and nine independents.

One-third of the elected deputies are former members of the Moscow city soviet or rayon soviets.

According to Anatoliy Petrov, chairman of the city electoral commission, all the lists of deputies will be published by 16 December. But prior to this the elected candidates must first lay down all other powers and submit the relevant documents to the commission. Only after this will they be officially registered as deputies to the city's representative body. The first joint sitting of the Moscow government and the City Duma will take place next week or thereabouts.

Further on Moscow Elections

LD1412190993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] According to the Moscow City Electoral Commission, Russia's Choice won the majority in the elections to the City Duma, receiving 19 of the 35 seats. The Party of Russian Unity and Concord, the Civic Union and the Movement for Democratic Reforms have two seats each. One seat went to the local election group Citizens for People's Power and the nine remaining ones to independent candidates.

The chairman of the commission Anatoliy Petrov told a Tuesday news conference that 51.1 percent of eligible voters took part in the Sunday elections. He said election documents had been received from 34 out of the 35 electoral districts in Moscow. For purely technical reasons the voting papers have not come from the Southern electoral district, but the electoral commission knows the election returns there.

According to Petrov, this is the lowest ever turnout registered in Moscow which he accounted to the weariness and apathy of Muscovites.

The news conference was also told that the Mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov intends to meet the new elected body at the beginning of next week.

Report on Results in St. Petersburg

LD1512150493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The preliminary results of the elections in St. Petersburg have been summed up. A total of 52.02 percent of the voters took part in the elections—71.18 percent voted for the new Constitution. Yuriy Boldyrev and Aleksandr Belyayev have been elected to the Federation Council. Six parties and blocs overcame the five percent threshold: Russia's Choice—25 percent; Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc—19.4 percent; the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia—18.2 percent; the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms—8.5 percent; Communists - 7.7 percent. Women of Russia—5.1 percent.

LDPR Leads in Tver, Chuvashia

LD1512114993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The preliminary results of the elections to the Federal Assembly and of voting in the referendum on the constitution continue coming in from the regions. Over 90 percent of the population of Ulyanovsk Oblast voted for Yuriy Goryachev, head of the administration, in the elections to the Federation Council. None of the 20 candidates from the democratic movements in Orenburg have been elected to the Federal Assembly. In all three okrugs, procommunist deputies have been elected to the Duma. Moderate centerists Vladimir Yelagin, Pavel Gurkalov, head of the local administration and director general of the Nosta joint-stock company, have become members of the Federation Council.

In Tver, Oblast Vladimir Suslov, head of the administration, and Professor Valeriy Rastorguyev, head of the Philosophy department at Tver University, have been elected to the Federation Council.

The leading parties are as follows:

Liberal-Democratic Party [LDPR]	24.8 percent
Russia's Choice	13.8 percent
Agrarian Party of Russia	13.5 percent
Communist Party of the Russian Federation	12.0 percent
Women of Russia	7.5 percent
Democratic Party of Russia	7.5 percent

In Chuvashia, where 63 percent of the adult population took part in the elections, 40 percent voted for the constitution, and of the parties and movements the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia received the greatest support.

Further on Regional Results

LD1512131493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1153 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Moscow December 15 TASS—Preliminary results of the Sunday elections to the new Russian parliament and of the constitutional referendum are still coming in from Russia's regions.

Head of the Ulyanovsk regional administration Yuriy Goryachev today addressed the electorate. He thanked the voters for their trust. The point is that more than 90 per cent of the region's electors had cast their ballot for the governor's candidature. "The results of the elections," said Goryachev, who is now member of the new parliament's upper chamber, "prove that the population of the region supports the course steered by the regional administration, which is eager to ensure sociopolitical stability. The adoption of the new constitution opens up new opportunities for pulling the country out of the crisis. It allows all of us to work confidently for the sake of Russia's future."

Not a single democratic candidate, from among 20 nominees, has been elected to the new parliament in Orenburg region. Three representatives of the "Russia's Choice" bloc polled a minimum number of votes. Procommunist deputies were elected in all the three local constituencies to the State Duma. [passage omitted]

In Chuvashia, where 63 percent of the republic's population came to the polls, 237,107 people, that is, 40 percent, voted for the new constitution. The largest number of votes was polled by Zhirinovskiy's Liberal-Democratic Party (111,282). It is followed by the Communist Party of Russia (97,101), the Agrarian Party

(62,843), the Democratic Party of Russia (44,830), the "Russia's Choice" bloc (43,992), and the "Women of Russia" movement (41,917).

Former vice-speaker of the Russian parliament Valentin Agafonov and 33-year-old economist Nadezhda Bikalova were elected to the State Duma. Head of the republican government Valerian Viktorov and Chuvash University Rector Lev Kurakov were elected to the Council of the Federation. They polled 211,920 and 210,989 votes respectively.

The checked results of the voting in Belgorod region became known today. Seventy percent of the electorate came to the polls there. Aleksey Ponomarev, pro-rector of the local agricultural institute, former first secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Mikhail Beskhmelnitsin, chairman of the regional council, were elected to the Council of the Federation.

The results of voting according to party lists are as follows:

Liberal Democratic Party—36 per cent, the Communist Party of Russia—15.5 per cent, the Agrarian Party—12 per cent, the "Russia's Choice" bloc and the "Women of Russia" movement—10 per cent each. The smallest number of votes was polled by the "Mercy and Justice" and "Kedr" movements. Viktor Berestovoy, former head of the regional administration and former member of the Russian parliament, and lawyer Oris Zamai, member of the regional court, were elected from single-mandate constituencies. Zamai had campaigned as an independent candidate. 44.2 per cent of the voters, who took part in the constitutional referendum, have cast their ballots for the new constitution, while 55.8 per cent did not support it.

One Deputy Elected in Tatarstan

LD1512132693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Tatarstan will be represented in Russia's State Duma by one deputy, the POSTFACTUM agency reports. He is (Ivan Grachev), who was no. 18 on the federal list of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc. As you know, the elections were declared invalid in Tatarstan because an insufficient number of voters turned up—13.8 percent of the electorate came to the polls.

Elections in Tatarstan Voided

LD1512113893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec—ITAR-TASS has been told by the Central Electoral Commission that the elections in all of the constituencies of Tatarstan were null and void. This emerged after the preliminary results of voting in the Almetyevsk, Moskovskiy, Nizhnekamsk, and Privolzhskiy single-seat constituencies were received.

As a result, this Republic, which is a constituent member of the Russian Federation, will, like Chechnya, be unrepresented in both the Federation Council and the State Duma. Under the rules for the elections to the upper and lower chambers of the Federal Assembly, new elections will have to be held in Tatarstan. These are expected to be staged in spring 1994.

Dagestan Favors Communists

MK1512131593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Dagestan"]

[Text] A total of 60 percent of the republic's voters turned out for the voting on the draft Russian Constitution. Of them, only slightly more than one-fourth voted for the draft, the rest giving a "No" vote. The poll on introducing the presidency in Dagestan also produced negative results.

The Russian Federation Communist Party has a strong lead in the party vote with nearly 40 percent. The Agrarian Party came in second.

Results in North Caucasus Reported

MK1512124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Igor Terekhov report under the "North Caucasus" rubric: "Karachayevo-Cherkesia Turns Down New Constitution, North Ossetia and Kabardino-Balkaria Vote for It"]

[Text] It took nearly two days to count the results of the 12 December voting in the North Caucasus republics. According to local journalists, the delay in announcing official returns was caused not only by the difficulty of processing various ballot papers and numerous errors in filling them out, but also by the struggle of regional ethnopolitical groups for seats in the representative bodies of power. By noon yesterday, your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent had learned only preliminary results of the polls in some North Caucasus republics.

In Karachayevo-Cherkesia, 69.3 percent of the voters turned out for the poll. The highest turnout was registered in the republic's areas with predominantly indigenous population—Karachayevs, Cherkes, and Abazin. By 2000 on 12 December, 92.7 percent of the voters showed up at the polls in the Khabez district; 84 percent in the Karachayev district; 80 percent in the Khabl district. In the republic's capital, Cherkessk, 53.1 percent had voted by that time. Most residents of the Karachayevo-Cherkesian Republic voted against the adoption of the new Russian Constitution. In the party vote, the Russian Federation Communist Party is the front-runner, followed by the Liberal Democratic Party and the Agrarian Party.

In North Ossetia, where over 58 percent of registered voters went to the polls, 60 percent favored the adoption of the new constitution. Rural residents were most active here as well; Khasan Bekuzarov, chairman of North Ossetia's electoral commission, said that a particularly high turnout was registered in the areas where the state of emergency rule is in force. "People whose life currently passes in difficult conditions want their interests to be securely protected by the state," he told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent.

According to early returns on the party vote, the Russian Federation Communist Party is ahead in North Ossetia, followed by Zhirinovskiy's party, with "Russia's Choice" falling slightly behind. Although official results have not been announced, the results of the Federal Assembly voting in North Ossetia are already clear. As has already been reported, Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet, and Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, won a majority of votes in the election for the Federation Council, and Aleksandr Dzasokhov, former first secretary of the CPSU Oblast Committee during perestroyka and member of the CPSU Central Committee, currently cochairman of the "For Dialogue and Cooperation in the Asian-Pacific Region" international association, won a State Duma seat.

In Kabardino-Balkaria, elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly and the constitutional referendum coincided with local parliamentary elections. A total of 57.5 percent of the republic's voters turned out for the poll. The highest turnout was also registered in rural areas; for instance, in the Sovetskiy district it amounted to 70.5 percent; in Chegem, 68.7. In Nalchik, the republic's capital, only 53.8. percent showed up at the polls.

What came as a surprise in Kabardino-Balkaria, where an active propaganda campaign for boycotting the referendum was waged by the Kabardin National Movement and various pro-communist parties and movements, was the approval of the new draft constitution, which was supported by 66.98 percent of those who turned out to vote. Observers attribute this to both Russian President Boris Yeltsin's recent trip to the republic and a high approval rating of Kabardino- Balkaria President Valeriy Kokov, who had launched an active campaign in support of the new Constitution. As a matter of fact, according to preliminary tallies, President Valeriy Kokov and Prime Minister Valeriy Cherkasov were elected Federation Council deputies.

As for the party vote, the Party for Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] is leading in Kabardino-Balkaria, which is attributable to both local residents' support for their countryman, Sergey Shakhray, and an energetic campaign by the PRUA regional branch. The PRUA is followed by the Agrarian Party of Russia, the Communist Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party.

On the whole, the voting in the North Caucasus republics has shown that the region's population favors a reform course and prefers local leaders, who have demonstrated—in difficult conditions—their commitment to stability, social support for the population, and the maintenance of the Russian Federation's unity. Regarding the rising popularity of the Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party revealed by the elections, this should be seen as a reaction to the democrats' armed victory in the October events.

Kalmykian President Elected

LD1412135693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1133 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Kalmykian President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov has been elected to the Federation Council, the upper chamber of Russia's Federal Assembly.

76% out of the 60% of electors who participated in the December 12 voting in Kalmykia voted for Ilyumzhinov.

The Kalmykian leader's press service pointed out that a much greater number of people had voted for Ilyumzhinov than during the presidential elections in Kalmykia held on April 11 of this year.

Murmansk Favors Constitution

LD1512124993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report from Murmansk by correspondent G. Smirnov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to preliminary data, the referendum on the draft constitution is valid on the territory of Murmansk Oblast. The majority of the northerners who voted supported the new basic law. [passage omitted]

Bryansk Rejects Democratic Parties

LD1512121493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The defeat of the democratic parties and movements in Bryansk Oblast can be described as crushing. Half as many electors again voted against the constitution as for it. Casting their votes for the Liberal-Democratic Party were 27 percent of electors, for the Communists 18, and Russia's Choice only 14.

For Bryansk Oblast two seats in the Federation Council and two in the State Duma will be taken by representatives of the opposition.

Results in Altay Kray

MK1512130593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Altay Kray"]

[Text] The Altay Kray district electoral commission announced 14 December that according to preliminary returns a total of 51.1 percent of the kray's voters gave their backing to the new Constitution.

Among parties and blocs, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia has a lead with over 260,000 votes; the Agrarian Party of Russia garnered 219,000; "Russia's Choice," 102,000; the Communist Party, 92,000; "Women of Russia," 80,000; the Party for Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], 50,000; the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], 42,000; and the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, 29,000 votes.

Agrarian Party Leads in Bashkiriya

LD1512093993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] In Bashkiriya, according to the amplified data of the district election commission, 63.1 percent of the electors took part in the referendum on the constitution, of which 56.3 percent voted against the draft constitution and 40.8 percent for it. Of the blocs and parties, the Agrarian Party of Russia received the greatest support in the republic, then the Communist party of the Russian Federation, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, Liberal- Democratic Party of Russia, Women of Russia, and Russia's Choice.

LDPR Leads in Maritime Kray

LD1512093593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0313 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Vladivostok, 15 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—In Maritime Kray the results of the voting have been counted. According to a report by the district electoral commission, more than 51 percent of the electors took part in the elections, of which 71.71 percent expressed support for the new Russian Constitution.

Two candidates ran for the Federation Council—the Kray Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko and Yevdokiya Gayer, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Socioeconomic Development of the North, who received respectively 65.36 and 38.09 percent of the electors' votes.

Professor Dr. Mikhail Glubokovskiy, member of the Institute of Marine Biology; Valeriy Nesterenko, director of the "Khankayskiy" nature reserve; Igor Ustinov, chairman of the Administrative Committee of the "Nakhodka" free economic zone have become deputies to the State Duma for three single-seat constituencies.

Among the parties and movements the votes were distributed as follows:

Electors cast 21.9 percent of votes to the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], 14.32 to the "Women of Russia" movement, 13.21 to the "Russia's Choice" bloc, 8.1 to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 7.9 to the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, 7.65 to "PRUA", and 6.66 percent to the Democratic Party of Russia.

The other parties and movements received a very insignificant percentage of votes in the voting in Maritime Kray.

Winners in Sakhalin, Kurils Listed

OW1512040893 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Ivan Vorobyev, our Sakhalin correspondent, reports on the preliminary result of elections to the State Duma, the Federation Council of the Russian Federation, and the referendum on the draft of the country's new constitution.

[Begin Vorobyev recording] Judging by the deputies elected by residents of Sakhalin and the Kurils to the Federal Assembly, I would say that common sense has prevailed. The islanders supported Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov, head of the administration, a man whose oratorical skills by no means sparkle, a man who cannot say that he has stopped the decline in production, or the growth of prices. However, voters believed his calmness and confidence. They believed the man who will not lie or dodge. They believed the man who soberly evaluates the situation. This mandate of trust is (?priceless).

The second deputy elected to the Federation Council is Mikhail Romanovskiy, general director of the Sakhalin Steamship Joint Stock Company. Here, it was not so much the deputy's personal qualities that influenced the choice, as much as the significance and role of the collective which he heads. The steamship company is truly a vitally important organ of economic activity for the island oblast, and despite all the complications, the collective is coping with it. At present, it is difficult to label any enterprise as flourishing, but seeing that the steamship company is not foundering and is even increasing its volume, buying vessels and building houses and cultural projects, one can attribute all of this to Mikhail Romanovskiy, general director and now Federation Council deputy.

Boris Tretyak, head of Sakhgeofizrazvedka [Sakhalin Geophysical Exploration] Trust has been elected to the State Duma to represent Sakhalin Oblast. Oil workers were the first to vote for him. However, the oblast inhabitants could hardly get to know him because of the rushed electoral campaign. I think that the choice here was determined more by the unacceptability of the competitors. Indeed three years was enough time to reveal to Sakhalin residents the true worth of pretty speeches of the outsiders [varyagi] Valentin Fedorov and Viktor Sirenko? Voters no longer believe that the man with the Moscow visa is so concerned about the fate of the distant islands. In fact, the matter is not in the visa, but that too much had been promised and very little delivered by the former head of the administration and the vice governor.

Even less trust is enjoyed by professional defenders of workers' interests, such as candidate Aleksandr Greshko, trade union leader.

Boris Tretyak's concern over living conditions of the oil explorers and their moving from temporary to permanent dwellings, spoke in his favor, since this was something real.

Are these the qualities a Federation Council deputy needs? What can we, the ordinary voters, say about it? We have seen enough gas bags at all the conferences and in the Supreme Soviet. So why then, if we are supposed to vote for deeds and not words, did the Sakhalin residents believe Zhirinovskiy's artless bravura? They saw through the oblast demagogues but failed to do the same with demagogues of the all-Russian scale. This is probably what it is all about. At a regional level we had the opportunity to somehow compare declarations to deeds. After all, there is nothing behind Zhirinovskiy but wide declarations. It is just that our situation is so bad today that we are willing to believe a blabbermouth yet again. I look with dread at people walking the streets—every fifth one voted for Zhirinovskiy, voted for summary executions, voted for war—a war with former Soviet republics as a minimum, a world war as a maximum. They say that 90 percent of military personnel voted for this. Historian Yuriy Koryakin exclaimed: Russia has gone nuts! A scathing remark for sure, and I doubt if Sakhalin is more nuts than anyone else. But we should not accept it only as our stupidity. What we should accept is this: fascism is no longer history, fascism is in our front yard. It is just that it was named national socialism in the thirties, and now it calls itself liberal democracy. These very concepts were vulgarized and turned inside out. Are we really doomed to find the real value of words and promises through bloody and terrible deeds?

Russian Citizens Abroad Participate in Elections

MK1512120493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Irina Grudnina report under the "Elections" rubric: "Russian Diplomats Are Well-Disciplined People. Some 90 Percent of Russia's Citizens Abroad Took Part in Voting"]

[Text] Seventy-five percent of Russian citizens who voted at Russian Federation embassies and consulates abroad have supported the new constitution. This was stated to INTERFAX by Yuriy Popov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry electoral commission.

He also noted that nearly 90 percent of Russian citizens in other countries on a temporary or permanent basis had taken part in the voting. Elections for the Federal Assembly went in a rather organized manner in all the countries. Even in Bucharest, despite the picketing in connection with the "Ilascu affair," voting went calmly. There were no excesses in Algeria either.

According to preliminary data, some 20 percent of Russian citizens voted for Russia's Choice. The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc garnered between 10 and 12 percent. Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party and Zyuganov's Communist Party each scored 10 percent. "One of course can speak about these results with a grain of salt. Official figures will be released by the Central Electoral Commission," Mr. Popov said. In his opinion, Russian diplomats on long missions abroad are well-disciplined and conservative people. Not surprisingly, Zhirinovskiy's name provoked no agitation and fever at Russian polling stations abroad.

Troops in Latvia Vote

WS1512111693 Riga LETA in English 0826 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Ventspils, December 14 (LETA)—Russian military units still stationed in Ventspils also took part in the parliamentary elections on Sunday [12 December]. A ballot station was organized for them as well their family members and employees of Russian military units in Ventspils. According to Igor Pavluk, the Deputy Head of the Election Commission, many local civilians with Russian citizenship also wanted to cast their ballots in Ventspils rather than go to Riga to vote, so the Commission had to introduce some changes in its work. Several persons with Latvian passports also turned up with the intention to vote, but were rejected.

Some 1,500 people took part in the elections in Venspils. About two thirds of them voted for the Liberal Democratic Party leader, the ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky, while 15 percent supported the Communist Party. Other parties and coalitions obtained insignificant numbers of votes.

Shortage of Ballots in Latvia Noted

WS1512114693 Riga LETA in English 0826 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Daugavpils, December 14 (LETA)—In order to avoid a serious situation from developing because of the shortage of voting papers, a polling district situated on the territory of a Russian military base, in Daugavpils, was closed half an hour earlier than the stipulated time. As a result, a considerable number of Russian citizens, residing in Daugavpils and wishing to participate in the elections in the Russian Parliament and the referendum concerning the Russian Federation's new constitution, failed in accomplishing this aim. On the election eve, Daugavpils's residents learned by chance that they could also participate in the elections in their native town. Earlier, they were informed by the Central Electoral Commission that Russian citizens could vote only in Riga. Later granted permission for voting of Russian citizens in Daugavpils, the Central Electoral Commission did not provide the necessary amount of voting papers for the city.

Servicemen in Georgia Back LDPR

LD1512083993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0630 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Eighty-three percent of Russian servicemen stationed in Georgia and the members of their families took part in the elections to the Russian parliament. Of them more than 80 percent approved the draft of the Russian Constitution. This was reported by sources at the headquarters of the group of Russian troops in Transcaucasia. The Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] is in the lead, with the Russia's Choice bloc in second place. In third place was the Party of Russian Unity and Accord.

Winners of Individual Constituencies Named

Electoral Commission Names Winners

LD1412190393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1654 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Nikolay Yegorov and Grigoriy Oynvid, the Russian president's representatives in the Vladimir Region and the Kamchatka Region correspondingly and former people's deputies of Russia, have been elected to the Council of the Federation, a spokesman for the Central Electoral Commission told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday.

Yuriy Shafrannik, Russian minister of fuel and power engineering, who stood for election from the Khanty-Mansiisk two-seat constituency, was also elected to the Council of the Federation.

Officials Win Seats

LD1412222793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's top executives w[illegible] represented in the Federal Assembly by individual constituencies. For example, First Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko managed to convince the Kaliningrad electorate that he will be the best to protect their interests in the Council of Federation. The republic of Buryatia elected Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun to the Council of Federation, while the Khanty-Mansi autonomous region did the same with Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik. Social Security Minister Ella Pamfilova, one of the top three candidates of Russia's Choice, was elected to the State Duma by the Kaluga single-mandate constituency. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev canvassed over 70% of votes in the Murmansk region. Finance Deputy Minister Aleksandr Pochinok was elected to the parliament by the Magnitogorsk constituency.

Kozyrev's Victory Assessed

PM1512113993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2

[Pavel Vasilyev report under the "Elections" rubric: "Murmansk Votes for Head of Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] "My heart is there in Murmansk," Andrey Kozyrev told journalists who intercepted him Sunday evening when the head of the Foreign Ministry arrived at the polling place. "Though my body is here, my heart is there."

You can understand Andrey Vladimirovich. He chose by no means the easiest place as a launchpad into parliament: There were already nine politicians contending for the State Duma from Murmansk Electoral District 116. Andrey Kozyrev became the 10th. And he won. Some 60 percent of Murmansk people voted that the head of the Foreign Ministry should represent the region's interests in parliament.

What is the secret of his success? He did not promise manna from heaven, and nowadays you cannot win Russians over merely by diplomatic ploys—they have already developed immunity to flattery.

During the election campaign in Murmansk Andrey Kozyrev constantly emphasized that "Murmansk is Russia, and Russia is Murmansk." Therefore we need to elaborate an all-Russian program "with a northern coefficient," which is something the former Supreme Soviet never got around to doing. The existing "northern adjustment" in both the government and parliament was purely formal. But it should be made "real."

I think that so far as the northerners were concerned an important argument in the minister's favor was his ability to organize partnership relations with neighbors. Even the fact that Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt visited Murmansk on the eve of the elections was to the diplomat's advantage. But the premier was not merely a "visiting celebrity," he also brought a specific program for cooepration and business links which he set out in the presence of Andrey Kozyrev at a conference of administration heads. The Finns and Norwegians also have good plans. Firms and banks from other Western countries are also keen to invest.

"I seriously think that Murmansk can be turned into a showcase for Russia," the minister said Sunday evening. "All the conditions exist there for that. If the appropriate mandate is given and trust is shown, it will be possible to do a great deal in this direction."

Today he has the desired mandate. Time will tell whether he succeeds in using it as he promised.

Former Deputies Lose

LD1412185393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A number of the deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet dissolved by the presidential decree of September 21 failed to canvass support in the same constituencies that they were elected in in 1990.

Deputy Sergey Nosovets, who used to represent the radical democrats' faction in the former parliament lost to his ex- colleague, the leader of the Russian All-Nation Union, Sergey Baburin. At the same time, the union's another leader, Nikolay Pavlov, lost in his native town of Tyumen.

The leader of another parliamentary faction, lawyer Vladimir Isakov, lost in a single-mandate constituency in Yekaterinburg. Nevertheless, he is provided with a seat in the State Duma as he is included in the roll of the Agrarian Party which canvassed over 10 percent of the votes, according to the latest reports.

Former First Deputy Speaker Yuriy Voronin lost the elections in Tatarstan together with former Economy Minister Yevgeniy Saburov and famous faith healer Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy. However, the latter will enter the State Duma in the roll of the Liberal and Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Former Deputies Elected

LD1412222693 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Many former deputies of the dissolved Supreme Soviet are coming back to the upper chamber of the Russia's new parliament—the Federation Council. According to Central Electoral Commission information, among them there are Aman Tuleyev, Vladimir Podoprigora, Yuriy Lodkin, and others. Vasiliy Starodubtsev, a member of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], has also become a member of the Federation Council.

Among deputies to the lower chamber—the State Duma—there is Anatoliy Lukyanov, the former head of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Voters supported the candidacies of Yuriy Vlasov, a famous weightlifter of the past, and also Vasiliy Lipitskiy, a leader of the Civic Union.

Some members of the government will be working in the new parliament. It is already known that voters supported the candidacies of Vladimir Shumeyko, the first deputy prime minister, and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

'Familiar Faces' Noted

PM1412160093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "All Familiar Faces"]

[Text] According to preliminary data from the district electoral commissions confirmed by the Central Electoral Commission, the following have become deputies of the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly: Vladimir Podoprigora, Mikhail Nikolayev, Aman Tuleyev, Vyacheslav Lyubimov, and Yuriy Lodkin—former Russian Federation people's deputies. Sergey Baburin has been elected deputy of the State Duma. Also in the Federation Council are Eduard Rossel and Aleksandr Aslanidi, whose names became known in connection with the proclamation of the Ural Republic, which was abolished by edict of President Boris Yeltsin.

President's Center Says 55.55 Percent Back New Constitution

MK1512084993 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "55.55 Percent of Voters Are For New Constitution"]

[Text] According to data of the president's Center for Current Information, 55.55 percent of voters in 80 out of the 88 federation components have said "yes" to Russia's new constitution. Forty percent spoke against passing it, and 2.94 percent of the ballot papers were found invalid.

Foreign Observers Comment on Elections

Violations Noted

LD1312220693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2147 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—In the course of meetings with journalists on Monday [13 December], foreign observers who watched the procedure of voting, noted a number of shortcomings and violations during the elections in Russia.

According to American observers from the International Republican Institute, the galloping character of the election campaign led to a hasty appearance of the imperfect law on elections and the appointment of the Central Electoral Commission and the formation of election blocs.

Henri Chaber, deputy of the European Parliament and deputy mayor of the French city of Lyons, told ITAR-TASS about a number of peculiarities in voting to the Federal Assembly. On the one side, he said, all parties and blocs participating in the election campaign, had practically equal chances for carrying out canvassing, and the preparation of polling stations for the elections was made at an "excellent level". On the other hand, there was very little explanatory information and too many bulletins. Sometimes they contained over ten names which confused some electors.

Henri Chaber particularly stressed the importance of the adoption of draft of the new Constitution. Although, in his view, not all voters familiarized themselves with its text. The majority of Russians voted "yes" as they need a fundamental law already now, and there is no time left for additional consideration, Henri Chaber stressed.

According to Magdalene Hoff, head of the delegation of the European Parliament, many observers were surprised that at some polling stations there were heated discussions on what candidates to vote for and how to vote. Thus, the principle of a secret ballot was not observed. It was difficult for voters to choose candidates, the more so, in the majority of cases their party membership was not mentioned. There were practically no representatives of political parties among local observers. They were not present during the procedure of counting votes, either, although they had the right to do it. This apparently accounts for the fact that these parties are now at the stage of being formed and therefore they have no organizational base in provinces.

According to Henrik Lax from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), a great number of bulletins created problems for elderly people who could not orientate themselves in tens of unfamiliar names. Political activity of young people was rather low. He also paid attention to a large number of independent candidates. In the course of the elections Russians had more confidence in well- known politicians than in their programs.

No Violations Seen in Moscow

PM1412143093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Yuriy Popov, incorporating interview with Swedish election observer Kristina Svensson in Moscow on 12 December: "Foreign Observers on the Elections"]

[Text] It was far from easy to get hold of a foreign observer in Moscow on 12 December. More than 1,000 of them had come here. Some had scattered around the country, others preferred Moscow. At the Central Electoral Commission we were told that there was no particular schedule for their movements around the capital. They themselves choose the polling places and the time and order of visiting them.

I was lucky: At around three o'clock I got through to the Savoy Hotel on the phone and "caught" an observer about to depart for the polling places. It was Kristina Svensson, a member of the Swedish Riksdag who is on the parliament's standing committee on international questions. She has previously observed elections in Lithuania, Latvia, and Burundi.

Since morning, she had been to several rayons of Moscow. "First I thought," K. Svensson said, "that only elderly people were voting, and very few young people. And the percentage of voters was not great." However, that impression was dispelled following visits to polling places No. 3019 on Rogov Street and 2958 in Mnezniki, and then others. By that time more than 50 percent of those on the roll there had voted, including, of course, many young residents.

"As an observer from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly," K. Svensson went on, "I must ensure that there are no violations in the organization and conduct of the elections, that no propaganda is carried out on the day, that the political parties do not put pressure on the voters, that ballot papers are not falsified, that double voting is ruled out, and so forth. I looked carefully at how the ballot papers were formulated, whether they bore the correct seal, and whether there was any possibility of entering the polling places the back way and dropping unregistered ballot papers into the box. In my view, nothing like this has happened in Moscow. I have not observed anything of the kind."

Admittedly K. Svensson found certain polling places to be rather cramped, with nowhere for people to sit down and ponder the choice of candidates. She is not sure that during the preelection period all the parties had identical conditions for propagandizing their programs. "Russia's Choice," in her opinion, had advantages because it supported the government. K. Svensson talked with the chairmen and members of commissions and many of those who were handing out the ballot papers, and leafed through the books of lists to check from the signatures that the majority had already voted.

On that day many international observers, on their own initiative, called the Central Electoral Commission, reported their observations, and also noted certain procedural violations. Thus, some voters showed them campaign materials that had been put in their mailboxes on 12 April. At one polling place they were discussing among themselves whom to vote for, which is impermissible. Many observers agreed that the elections took place in a calm atmosphere, with no tension.

U.S. Observers 'Statisfied'

PM1412140993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "U.S. Observers: Generally Satisfied, But There Are Problems"]

[Text] On the whole the U.S. observers are satisfied with the way in which the elections and referendum in Russia were organized and held but think that there were problems too.

It only remains for the Americans now to spell out their final verdict in the report which they plan to have ready by January. But to judge from the comments of Senator McCain, leader of the U.S. delegation at the Russian elections, the final conclusions will scarcely differ significantly from the initial impression that has been formed.

The main impression is this: "The elections confirmed Russia's commitment to the democratic process." But: "The election campaign was hurried," "the law on elections is imperfect," and the parties and blocs did not have clear program goals, which will subsequently "lead to reducxed activeness on the part of the Russian electorate."

It is noteworthy, in the Americans' opinion, that the restrictions on the work of the mass media and instances of the use of censorship "had virtually no effect on the provision of information to the public."

On the whole, Senator McCain told me, there was no evidence that the elections were unfair.

Elections Called 'Democratic'

LD1412172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1603 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Nikolay Kalintsev and Andrey Shtorkh]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Foreign observers from the European Union who are ending their mission in Russia, characterized the December 12 elections in Russia to the parliament and the referendum on the new constitution as correct, democratic and open.

"We have not registered gross violations of the election legislation, and those insignificant shortcomings which took place can be explained by Russia's specific conditions," Wolf Puhle, a member of the Free Democratic Party in the German Bundestag, told ITAR-TASS.

"For the first time Russians had broad possibilities to vote for this or that candidate although it was not easy for electors to orientate themselves in numerous bulletins. One of the important results of the past elections may be their educational effect and gradual familiarization of Russian citizens with rudiments of democracy. The political parties elected to the parliament must realize their responsibility before voters, otherwise next time they will find themselves behind its threshold. After all, confidence and responsibility before the electorate are indivisible," Wolf Puhle noted.

Professor Martin Fincke, jurist from the Universitaet Passau (Germany), observed the elections in Buryatia, Tuva and Irkutsk where conditions were to some extent different from those in the center of Russia. In the professor's view, the influence of central political parties practically was not felt there. Two or three local parties representing the local nomenclature, were competing with one another.

It may be concluded, the scholar said, that the honest and correct elections were held there. Local electoral commissions maintained close contacts with the Central Electoral Commission, though there were some negative moments in this as members of those commissions avoided making decisions in controversial issues. But on the whole separate shortcomings did not influence the results of voting, the researcher pointed out.

Martin Fincke positively estimated the results of the referendum on the new Russian constitution. At the same time, he expressed his misgivings that resistance to the center would strengthen in some regions. For instance, strong separatist trends are manifesting themselves particularly in Tuva where the overwhelming majority of the Tuva Republic rejected the draft of the new Russian constitution although only about 70 per cent of electors in this republic voted for their own constitution. The rest of the residents of the Tuva Republic also spoke for the secession of the republic from Russia but by more civilized means and by way of negotiations planned for a long period of time, the German observer stressed.

Official Reaction

'Sources' Say Yeltsin Planning 'Considerable Reshuffle'

MK1512083393 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "Are Yeltsin's Main Trump Cards Yet To Come?"]

[Text] According to trustworthy sources, Boris Yeltsin is preparing a considerable reshuffle in the top echelons of power. He will supposedly sign an edict some time between 20 and 22 December on cadre appointments that may turn around the situation that has taken shape in the wake of the electoral failure.

Yeltsin Releases Stankevich

LD1512101093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0953 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a edict releasing Sergey Stankevich from the post of adviser to the Russian president. This is stated in an announcement of the Russian president's press service released today.

Stankevich Reportedly Resigns

LD1512114893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Let us go back to politics. We have already reported that Sergey Stankevich, the president's adviser, has been relieved of his duties by a presidential edict. We have just spoken over the telephone to Sergey Stankevich's press secretary, Sergey Stupar, who explained the reasons for the resignation.

[Begin Stupar recording] Sergey Stankevich initiated the matter of his resignation. He put this matter to the president. He feels that as a political adviser to the president, he is in part responsible for what happened during the elections in Russia. As an honest politician, he obviously had to do this, because the democratic forces were defeated during the elections. But this does not mean Stankevich will not be involved in the work anymore. He is ready to continue helping the reformist forces with the implementation of reforms in Russia. [end recording]

Stankevich Rules Out Alliance With Zhirinovskiy

LD1412170293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1545 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, December 14 TASS—It now becomes clear how risky it would have been to leave it to the newly-elected parliament to adopt the constitution, Sergey Stankevich, the Russian president's adviser for political affairs, said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS. He said the constitution in that event would have been buried.

Preliminary results of elections indicate that "there is a serious difference in attitudes and there will be a serious political conflict in parliament and outside it". Stankevich said. He noted that due to the popularly-adopted constitution this conflict will be subject to rules and will not assume a disastrous character.

Stankevich said that Boris Yeltsin who has been given enough powers to continue reforms is satisfied with the results of the referendum. He said the president was particularly encouraged by the fact that most of republics within the Russian Federation supported the constitution. This attests to Russia's consolidation. Stankevich said he does not know yet the president's attitude to the preliminary results of the elections.

Stankevich sees the reason for the setback of the democratic forces in the election "in underestimating the scope of discontent in society". Stankevich believes democrats have been overreliant on the results of the April referendum and decided that they are certain of popular support forever. Social analysts worked in the election campaign absolutely unprofessionally.

Stankevich is also convinced that the president adopted the sole correct tactic when he did not support any of the election blocs in the campaigning. If this were the case, he would have waived his role of "the president of all Russians, the arbiter of conflicts, and would have become a president belonging to a party, which would have had a negative effect on the adoption of the constitution".

Stankevich believes the strategy for near future will consist of immediate coordination of democratic blocs and parliamentary groups and adoption of joint action programme for two years ahead. In continuing reforms special emphasis should be given to the easing of social discontent "which becomes dangerous to democracy itself".

Noting that contacts with LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party] are inevitable, Stankevich said that "any political alliance with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is out of question".

Yeltsin Representative in St. Petersburg Views Elections

LD1412152793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 14 TASS—"The main result of the December 12 elections is the adoption of the new Russian constitution. Now all of us have clear rules of the game, which prolong the powers of the president and the government till 1996," presidential representative in St. Petersburg Sergey Tsyplyayev told a news conference here today.

Analyzing the preliminary election results, Tsyplyayev said politicians should not blame the electors for short-sightedness and take the major share of responsibility on themselves.

The correlation of parliament's political forces is so far unclear. In his opinion, within the first few months State Duma deputies will elect the speaker, share portfolios in committees and commissions, specify their stands and move from one political coalition to another. It is important what parties and movements decide to unite, since this will be the way the parliament will function.

"We should learn a lesson from the election campaign. First of all, a law on elections should be adopted for the electors and the whole state instead of parties and specific groups. It seems we will return to the old two-round system in majoritarian electoral districts with party nomination," said Tsyplyayev.

"The election campaign should not be passive and abstract as was the one of pro-government blocs. They should not have campaigned as opposition candidates or advertised themselves without carrying responsibility for the whole government.

"That is the way it was. A vivid example of it is preparations for the constitutional referendum. Democratic blocs were either vague about the draft or severely criticized it."

In the words of the presidential representative, a major conclusion to be done by politicians is understanding of the fact voting depends on their deeds. Thus, one should learn to analyze the situation and do not disengage themselves from real opinions and society relations.

It seems the State Duma will witness a confrontation, but there is the fundamental law to make it stable. It is also important to remember that political struggle aimed against specific individuals may bring an opposite effect, believes Tsyplyayev.

Kozyrev Aide: Resignation 'Not on Agenda'

LD1412172193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX one of Andrey Kozyrev's aides said he doubts that the head of Russian diplomacy will display an interest in polemics on foreign policy issues with Zhirinovskiy. "We ought to get used to what the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party] leader says," he noted.

According to him, Kozyrev's resignation is not on the agenda. "President Boris Yeltsin, unlike the LDPR leader, will decide what our government should be like, and who should lead our Foreign Ministry," the diplomat pointed out.

The Russian Foreign Ministry continues carrying out a stable foreign policy. It has been and continues to be directed by the president, INTERFAX was told Tuesday by the Foreign Ministry's spokesman Grigory Karasin. He informed of the ministry's preparedness for constructive cooperation with all branches of power, including the Federal Assembly. We shall consider the views and approaches by representatives of various points along the Russian political spectrum to international problems, said Karasin.

Karasin also said that Russia's diplomats, "as citizens of Russia," expressed their preferences with regard to political blocs and their leaders and to the new Constitution."

Kozyrev Proposes Alliance With Communists

LD1512121693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec—Following the elections to the Federal Assembly, Russia's foreign and domestic policies "will remain unchanged, by and large. They will be just as open and reformist. The Russian president is the guarantee of this, since foreign policy is presidential policy," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Russian journalists at the Russian Foreign Ministry today.

The Russian minister stressed that the new State Duma's primary task would be to tackle specific issues. "We would like the Duma," Andrey Kozyrev noted, "to give legislative backing to those foreign policy problems and initiatives we have proposed of late." This means, for instance, a solution to the problem of the Russian speaking communities in former Soviet republics and other foreign countries. The time has now come when "we are entitled to bring this question to the attention of our partners both in the former Soviet republics and elsewhere."

Another problem that, in the minister's view, the Duma will have to examine without delay is the law on Russia's peacekeeping operations, which has been drafted by the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The Russian minister dwelt on certain pronouncements by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party. He feels some of them, especially his remarks about the need to revise borders both with neighboring countries and within Russia itself, "border on irresponsibility and jeopardize the lives of very, very many people" and "smack of fascist demagogy."

The Russian minister warned against any panic over the outcome of the Federal Assembly elections. "Naturally, we have always said—and say now—that the threat of fascism exists in the country. However, there are no grounds for giving way to panic and exaggerating these threats," he stressed.

"We must unite on an anti-fascist basis with any party, above all with the Communists, who have always been consistent fighters against fascism," the minister went on to say. "We have our differences with the Communists, especially over the meaning of economic reform in Russia. But we are close to them on many questions, particularly the defense of interests and rights of the Russian-speaking population," he added.

Comments on Foreign, Domestic Policy

LD1512113093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—Russia's foreign and home policy after the December 12 parliamentary elections will "remain basically unchanged as concerns its openness and reformist character. The president of the Russian Federation acts as the guarantor of this, because the country's foreign policy is the presidential policy," Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev said here today.

Kozyrev was addressing Russian journalists at a meeting in the Foreign Ministry, during which he set forth his vision of the development of parliamentary democracy in Russia.

Further on Kozyrev Remarks

LD1512151293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1426 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow December 15 TASS—The results of the Sunday parliamentary elections will not affect Russia's external and internal policies. "They will remain basically unchanged, open, and reformist. This course is guaranteed by the president of the Russian Federation, becauses foreign policy is his sphere of competence," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told Russian journalists at the Russian Foreign Ministry here today.

Kozyrev stressed that the new State Duma will have to tackle concrete problems first and foremost. "We would like the Duma," Kozyrev noted, "to legislatively ensure the solution of foreign policy problems and the implementation of the initiatives which we have recently advanced". They include, for instance, problems of the Russian-speaking populations in CIS countries and other foreign states. "The new constitution," Kozyrev said, "includes an article on dual citizenship and we have every right now to raise this question before our partners both in the CIS countries and in other foreign states. And if the new Duma looks closely into this matter, it will make a huge step towards the solution of problems linked with the protection of the interests of the Russian-speaking population everywhere. As a matter of fact, the Russian Foreign Ministry had tabled a corresponding bill quite a time ago by the Russian Foreign Ministry to the former Supreme Soviet."

The minister believes that the Duma could get down immediately to one more concrete problem—the adoption of a law on Russia's peacekeeping operations, which was drawn up by the Russian Foreign Ministry. "I shall do everything possible," Kozyrev said, "to persuade the Duma to adopt urgently three or four laws on the most acute and vitally important problems in Russia."

The Russian minister touched in this connection on some statements made by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party. In Kozyrev's opinion, some of them, especially pronouncements on the need to revise Russia's borders with its neighbours and within the country, "are short of absolute irresponsibility. They endanger the lives of very many people and smack of fascist-type demagogy. I will never shake hands with Zhirinovskiy in the Duma, unless, like an honest man, he admits that many of his statements were made in the heat of the election struggle, that he will revise them and is ready to renounce such pronouncements."

The minister warned against any panicky moods in connection with the outcome of the parliamentary elections. "Of course, we have always said and repeat now that there is a fascist threat in our country, but there is no reason for panic and for dramatising this threat."

"We have to rally together on anti-fascist principles with any party, primarily with the communists, who have always consistently opposed fascism," Kozyrev said. "We disagree with the communists on economic reforms in Russia, but are close in our approaches to the problem of protecting the interersts and rights of the Russian-speaking population," he added.

Kozyrev is convinced that "common sense and sobriety will get the upper hand in the decisions of the deputies, who are now equipped with a new Constitution and with the Russian president's firm guarantees."

Presidential Aide Comments on Liberal Democrats

LD1512095193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] is too quick to celebrate victory; in terms of the number of deputies, the LDPR will be either second or third in Russia's State Duma, Nikolay Medvedev, head of the presidential administration's department for work with territories, said in an exclusive INTERFAX interview.

Judging from preliminary voting results in one-seat constituencies gathered by the information release centee, Medvedev said information has been received so far from 193 constituencies out of 224, excluding Chechnya.

Medvedev stated that Russia's Choice has earned another 27 seats in one-seat constituencies; the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc has mustered another six. As for the LDPR, three of its people have got the vote so far.

Administration Figures View Election Outcome

PM1512093593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Feature comprising "Statements, Assessments, Opinions" by Viktor Chernomyrdin, Yegor Gaydar, Anatoliy Chubays, Sergey Filatov, and Mikhail Poltoranin; "Who Is To Blame? What Is To Be Done?"]

[Text] **Viktor Chernomyrdin**

The adoption of a new Constitution effectively heralds the birth of a new, democratic Russia. The new Constitution will provide a legal base, a firm support for the Cabinet's normal work. Working to all intents and purposes without a constitution proved most awkward and troublesome for the government. Now the constitution clearly defines what the government should be doing. We have obtained a Constitution. Now let us learn to live by the Constitution. There is alarm over how the parliament will start its work, just as there is over the preliminary election results. We will base our work on practical matters. I am certain of one thing—in any case those coming to the parliament will be people who want what is good for Russia, for its people. If we use that as a starting point, if we all work toward this, the government and the people will always reach mutual understanding. In any case the membership of the government will change in some respects, and that would not even have any connection with the elections: That is life. If I carry on in this post I will strive above all for professionalism, which should, in my view, boil down to a desire to do what is good for Russia. Whatever banner the applicants for government operate under....., we will study these matters.

Yegor Gaydar

We are in favor of forming a broad coalition of democratic forces in the new parliament. It is necessary to put an end to private disagreements within the democratic camp and join forces for joint legislative work in the new parliament. Today a serious danger has emerged from the radical-nationalist forces. This only became possible owing to democratic forces' inability to agree on the key elements of the election campaign. However, the democrats can rely on the fact that, given the majority election system, they will nonetheless form the majority in the parliament. Russia's citizens have approved the draft Constitution. The fundamental law will be the core of the state's lawmaking activity. A government reshuffle is quite possible, given the adoption of the new constitution and the political alignment in the new parliament. In the near future a series of consultations will be held with the Russian president on this matter. As for this year's results, the government deserves to be criticized over decisions that should have been adopted before. Many of the economic transformations were carried out in an inconsistent manner. "Russia's Choice" may ally with all antifascist forces, including the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Anatoliy Chubays

I will never offer my hand to a fascist and will not be a member of the same government as a fascist. My opinion of Zhirinovskiy's entering the Russian government is that of Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov and not that of the president. Zhirinovskiy's bubble will burst, and we have to tell the millions of people who have been taken in by Zhirinovskiy that what he is promising cannot be achieved; that if it is, there will be World War III.

Sergey Filatov

The unexpected rise in the percentage of the vote cast for Zhirinovskiy's party and for the Communists is the result of a tactical error on the part of the democratic forces. At the very outset the democrats renounced coordinated actions and even fell out among themselves. That alienated the voters. People need reliability. What they like least of all are scandal and lack of coordination. That must be a lesson for everybody, and serious conclusions must be drawn when working in parliament. The strengthening of Zhirinovskiy's party will undoubtedly complicate the work of the parliament. This party will go its own way, but in the ranks of the opposition.

Mikhail Poltoranin

It will not be possible to avoid political confrontation in the new Russian parliament. Nevertheless all factions in the Federal Assembly must work constructively and be ready to compromise. There must be no artificial "partitions" between the parliamentary factions—those of democratic orientation on the one hand and the Communists and Agrarians on the other. Contacts with the Liberal Democratic Party are not ruled out either. The Communists on the one hand and the democratic parties on the other are trying to use Zhirinovskiy's Party for their own ends. When the Communists declare war, they will call on Zhirinovskiy, and when we want to do something good for Russia, we too will call him to our side. The natural partners for "Russia's Choice" in the Federal Assembly will be the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc. The new parliament will necessitate a change in the government although, according to the adopted draft Constitution, the Cabinet submits its resignation not to the parliament but to the president. The president would just like to clean up [pochistit] this government.

Ryabov Views Election Turnout, Results

PM1412180193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Vladimir Yanchenkov: "Russians Have Supported Course of Reforms; Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov on Preliminary Voting Results"]

[Text] The main result of the recent elections, the chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission said at a press conference at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry press center, is that the new Russian Federation Constitution has been adopted. He recalled that the nationwide vote is regarded as valid if over half the registered voters took part in it. There are 105,284,000 registered voters in Russia and 55,987,000 took part in the vote. We can thus note with full justification first that the vote on the adoption of the new Constitution was valid and second that the majority of voters who went to the ballot boxes voted for Russia's new Constitution.

What political conclusions can be drawn from all this? Russia has entered a new historical stage in its development, as a state it will build its domestic life with a fundamental law—the Constitution. Previously Russia had no such Constitution. We had the Constitution of a union republic within the union state and that was the most damaging element in building its statehood. The second conclusion is that the people, voting yet again for the adoption of the new Constitution, demonstrated support for the Russian president. It is clear that by submitting the question of the Constitution to a nationwide vote they were also raising the question of trust in the president and his reforms. No one can dispute that.

Thus with the adoption of the Constitution the question of early elections of the president automatically falls by the way, because the Constitution which has been adopted includes a provision on the transitional period which stipulates in particular that the president exercises his powers through his elected term. This conclusion is extraordinarily important since it confirms the stability of our state's central political figure.

As for the actual vote on the Constitution, Nikolay Ryabov stressed, for Russia as a whole the voting pattern did not vary widely. In the electoral districts of the components of the Federation something in the order of 45-70 percent of voters voted for the Constitution. There was no situation in which the percentage of those voting was 5, 7, or 10 percent in some regions, while in others it was 80-90. The picture was the same when voting for the candidate deputies, with the percentage of those who voted in the election districts of the subjects of the federation wavering around the 50 percent mark—sometimes a little higher, sometimes a little lower.

Evaluating the activity of the voters, the Central Electoral Commission spokesman asked for consideration of a seemingly banal fact like the weather conditions last Sunday. In some regions of Russia that day the air temperature dropped to 55-58 degrees below zero and in a number of krays and oblasts there was a snowstorm which made the prompt delivery of ballot papers harder and adversely affected voters' mood.

The fact that in accordance with the statute on elections it was possible to vote only at one's place of residence also had an adverse effect on the population's activity. Many were angry: How can I, a citizen of Russia, not vote where I want, but the law has ruled out this possibility and that could not fail to affect the number of voters who went to the polling places.

Nikolay Ryabov also singled out one more circumstance which influenced the voting results—the deadline for conducting the election campaign. This deadline, he noted, was not established at anyone's will but was dictated by the objective situation which has taken shape in Russia.

Moving the elections to the spring, summer, or fall, on which some politicians were insisting, could have led to more negative results. The main problem was that it was hard for the voter to understand the new electoral system, to grasp and consider the entire enormous cohort of candidate deputies, 13 election blocs, and the election platforms which are hard for even someone with a professor's education to understand. Of course, all this could not fail to leave its mark on the voters' activeness.

All these adverse elements, in Nikolay Ryabov's opinion, did not substantially influence the general background and results of the vote.

Special note was made of the fact that they set about counting the votes at all 100,000 polling places immediately after they had closed. The hundreds of thousands of people servicing the elections were faced with the task of counting the votes as rapidly as possible in order to accelerate the publication of the preliminary results. In the present political situation this was extremely important. Now that these preliminary results are known vote counting is continuing at the electoral commissions.

Answering journalists' questions, the leader of the Central Electoral Commission said that so far he cannot give a final picture of which parties and movements have come out ahead and which failed to pass the 5 percent mark. The vote counting is continuing. But it may confidently be said that less than half the election blocs were unlucky. As is already known, in a number of regions "Russia's Choice" is in the lead, in others the Liberal Democratic Party, while the Russian Communists and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc have had some success.

The fact that in some regions (for instance Tatarstan and Chechnya) elections did not take place is no tragedy, Nikolay Ryabov said. For the convening and normal functioning of parliament it is enough that two thirds of the votes have already been ensured. Even if voting failed to take place in 15-20 regions, it would have no effect at all on the legal right to form the Federal Assembly. According to the statute on elections in the regions where voting has not taken place, new elections will be held in the very near future.

The press conference also touched on the question of how on the election day the mass media did not receive free access to operational information about the progress of voting, in particular because of this the television show from the Kremlin was virtually ruined. In this connection Nikolay Ryabov stressed that in the interests of the normal operation of the electoral commissions and the ensuring of objective information through official channels, the Central Electoral Commission had issued no information to television or the other mass media, and he did not know where the organizers of the television marathon from the Kremlin had gotten their information.

Reaction by Zhirinovskiy

Zhirinovskiy News Conference Outlines Policies, Plans

LD1412155593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1538 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Crime fighting and a new foreign policy on the basis of Russia's new constitution are priority tasks of the future Russian Government, according to the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. While opening a conference on Tuesday [14 December] in Moscow, he also said that the government's task is also to urgently end free-of-charge assistance to former Soviet republics.

"Political independence implies economic independence as well," emphasized Zhirinovskiy. He also deems it necessary "to temporarily halt conversion" and explained that the term of this cessation would depend upon two factors, namely the foreign market for armaments and conversion in other countries. Zhirinovskiy underlined his position regarding Russian troop withdrawal from foreign states and said: "We must continue the withdrawal process adjusting it to the withdrawal of foreign troops from other states, primarily the European ones."

"There will be no discrimination in the social sphere," proclaimed Zhirinovskiy, whose party leads on the number of votes received during the December 12 elections to the new parliament. "Our task is to build a civic society in Russia."

Airs Views on State Duma 'Allies'

LD1412174793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newcast]

[Excerpt] I can sense that the president likes me as an individual and our party as a whole, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said at his first post-election news conference today. According to Zhirinovskiy, serious and large-scale work aimed at overcoming any potential confrontation within the parliament and at the essential continuing of the reforms lies ahead of him and his party comrades. Replying to a question about his allies in the future State Duma, Zhirinovskiy said that this is something that other parties have to think about as the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] faction will be represented better than any other party.

As for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the Women of Russia bloc is closer to him than any other party. But he is also ready for a fruitful cooperation with all sensible men. The LDPR chairman is also prepared to work with the old Cabinet of Ministers, led by its old prime minister, Chernomyrdin, if that is what the president wants. But he himself is against Gaydar, Chubays or Kozyrev being members of the government. [passage omitted]

Discusses Cooperation, Republics

LD1412184493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said at a news conference in Moscow Tuesday: "Let Yeltsin form any government he wants. For the salvation of Russia the Liberal Democratic Party will abandon any groupings and is prepared to cooperate with any force that will act in the interests of a new democratic Russia. We are prepared to cooperate with Russia's Choice, with communists, with anybody as long as this is conducive to our party's main goal, the prosperity of new Russia."

He said that numerous former Soviet republics "will crawl on their knees begging to be admitted to Russia. We will not take them all back at once but will listen to what the world community says." This will happen, he thinks, "when the republics see for themselves that they are incapable of self-rule and cannot offer people anything but chaos and war."

To Run in Presidential Election

LD1412184993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] If the new parliament decides that the presidential elections should be held on June 12, "I will certainly take part in them," Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, said at a news conference in Moscow Tuesday [14 December].

"President Yeltsin might decide not to take part. A communist candidate will not stand a chance. I am afraid I will be almost alone to run that campaign and that would be boring. I would not like the presidential marathon to be too easy," he continued.

"If, however, presidential elections are not held until 1996, then my election to that position would be a nice present for my 50th birthday," the LDPR leader said.

Zhirinovskiy emphasized that neither he nor his party "intend to accelerate the events."

Plans Meeting Yeltsin 'Shortly'

LD1412185093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] of Russia thinks that he will have a personal meeting with President Boris Yeltsin shortly, he told a news conference in Moscow Tuesday [14 December] attended by hundreds of Russian and foreign journalists.

His party emerged as the country's strongest in the voting by party lists, which will make it "a parliamentary majority." He was not impressed by the fact that not many LDPR deputies have been elected in single-seat districts.

In Zhirinovskiy's view, the attitude of President Yeltsin to the LDP was "kind" because of "its truly centrist position." He emphasized that the LDP "will never allow a confrontation which would result in a political crisis."

Zhirinovskiy said that his party might have "the most pure relations with Russia's Women" because the LDPR federal list included "numerous intelligent and handsome men in good shape." He recalled that during the TV marathon during the night of December 12-13 he had first congratulated the Russia's Women bloc and then Gennadiy Zyuganov's communists.

"We have never been anti-communist, we were only dissatisfied with Mikhail Gorbachev and five or six men of his team," he explained.

The LDPR leader said that his party's platform "never included nationalism." He hopes that once Europe gets rid of Nazism and Russia of communism, the entire world will get rid of nationalism before the century ends.

Asked by a journalist, what was the ethnic origin of his father, Zhirinovskiy said that his father, Wolf

Andreyevich, was a Russian whose second language was Polish because he was born in Poland, then incorporated into the Russian empire.

According to Zhirinovskiy, "ordinary people" paid nearly a billion rubles to the LDP election fund and so the party will easily pay its 200 Mn ruble debt to TV companies.

He insisted that he had not received any money from Russian banks or foreign sources. Zhirinovskiy dismissed the rumors that the Saddam Husayn regime had made money available to him. "We have no contacts with the Iraqi embassy or state," he said.

He added that the LDPR "never sent volunteers to Iraq. What we had was an exchange of youth tourist groups."

He wore tails and bow. Answering an INTERFAX question Zhirinovskiy said: "We are pluralistic even in our clothes. Some of us wear sweaters, others wear coats and others tails."

Discusses Coalition Prospect, Ministers

MK1512085993 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Todres in the "Winners" column: "Zhirinovskiy: We Are Forming No Coalitions But Are Waiting for Invitations. The Party's Assets Include KGB Officers and Plans To Reverse Conversion"]

[Text] On the first working day of the new parliament the leader of the victorious party—the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]—will announce an end to the time of troubles and perestroykas to the detriment of Russia and the continuation of reforms for its benefit. This was the triumphant message from Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who appeared before the press on Tuesday.

"I feel the president's sympathetic attitude toward us. We have taken up a centrist line," the LDPR leader said. "We are ready both to form our own new government and to join a coalition, but if the president does not invite us, we will not be upset. Likewise, we are ready to contest the June presidential elections, but if they are not called, we will not open confrontation."

According to preliminary results, Mr. Zhirinovskiy's party has secured for itself a relative majority in parliament. Responding to a question from SEGODNYA's correspondent, however, he said that "it is not striving to have an overwhelming majority" and it will not be forming a ruling coalition itself: "Other parties will concern themselves with inviting us." By way of a joke he expressed hope for an alliance with the Women of Russia: "We have many handsome and healthy men."

According to him, throughout the entire four years of its existence his party has not reneged on the principles of human rights, freedom, legality, and neutrality in everything. As for his widely cited pre-election statements about "on-the-spot execution of criminal gang leaders by firing squads," the "Jewish infection on TV," "99 percent of Russians in the future government," and the "restoration of Russia's former borders," Mr. Zhirinovskiy chose partly to forget them and partly to attribute them to the journalists' unscrupulousness. "We are being provoked by being called fascists. Oh, well. The moribund political system is grasping at straws."

He has promised that under his regime there will be "neither social nor ethnic discrimination," that "Russian troops will leave all foreign states—provided that the other countries do the same," while the former republics "will be begging us to let them back in with the status of guberniya," exclusively because of their economic situation: "We will transfer to world prices in relation with everybody and, should Russians be discriminated against, we will just stop supplies." Mr. Zhirinovskiy kindly allowed Eastern Europe and "whoever in the world may so wish" to join NATO and for German citizens and South African farmers to immigrate to Russia. The winners' leader revealed the secret of his pedigree: "Both my mother and father are Russian, and father's kin were all lawyers."

It should be noted that Mr. Zhirinovskiy continues to maintain the need for "a decisive role of the state sector in the Russian economy" and the abandonment of conversion of military and space production. This is especially important since the origin of his funds (according to him, a mere 1 billion rubles from personal donations) and the people around and behind him remain a mystery. The disclosed composition of the "LDPR's shadow cabinet" includes Security Minister Sergey Abeltsev, a former KGB officer; and his counterpart on foreign relations, Aleksey Mitrofanov, who represented the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

Zhirinovskiy Interviewed on Party Goals

AU1512104793 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by Elisabeth Heresch in Moscow; date not given: "A State Within the Borders of the Soviet Union"]

[Text] [Heresch] What is your main goal?

[Zhirinovskiy] We want to participate in the government as a strong parliamentary group to gain the opportunity to implement our program—this means to implement another form of reforms of the economy and of and the state. We want neither the form of the CIS nor that of the former Soviet Union, but the rebirth of a strong, rich, cultural, and democratic Russian state within the borders of the former Soviet Union.

[Heresch] How do you imagine this?

[Zhirinovskiy] The reestablishment of the borders is to take place peacefully. Already today, Tajikistan, the

Caucasus, and others are willing to return to us. And I think the events in Moldova, in the Baltic states, in Ukraine, and in Belarus contribute to making the majority of their people willing to return to Russia—not as republics in a federation, but in the form of governments (as during the time of the tsar—the editor).

The CIS is nothing else but a weak variety of the Soviet Union, in which the center must keep the periphery. If Georgia is in danger, Moscow must once again rescue it, and, in return, Russian soldiers are killed from Georgia to Tajikistan and the members of the Russian minorities are humiliated. Therefore, they all want to get away from there—not only Russians, but also Ukrainians and others, who live as minorities there. Therefore, we—in contrast to the other parties—see the solution only in a strong Russian state.

[Heresch] Your organization is considered to be a fascist party....

[Zhirinovskiy] We have as little to do with fascism as with communism. We are in favor of a republic We are nothing else but a moderately liberal-conservative party, to the right of the center, with a patriotic orientation. In our eyes, Russia is the home of everyone, regardless of his nationality, social stratum, or denomination. We are against discrimination of any kind—against national, political, social, and religious discrimination. Human rights are to be valid for everyone and are to be defended.

[Heresch] What is you economic program like?

[Zhirinovskiy] The people are tired. If they are promised that we establish capitalism, and in 20 years you will all live well, this is absurd. Therefore, we promise an improvement of the standard of living by about mid-1994—that is, in about half a year—if we can work because we get the necessary number of deputies.

This is to be achieved, first, by reducing subsidies. This yields an additional 30 percent of revenues for the state. Second, the destruction of the military-industrial complex is to be stopped. Destroying it is more expensive than continuing production. This yields another 30 percent in additional revenues. Third, the struggle against organized crime must be intensified. If we are able to serve a decisive blow to the 5,000 organized gangs in Russia, we get another 30 percent of revenues from their assets. In this way we can improve our financial situation by 100 percent within a short time—and that for all citizens of our country.

[Heresch] To what extent does this also affect foreign policy?

[Zhirinovskiy] We must shape foreign policy in a new way so that we get the corresponding economic benefit from it. We must reestablish relations with the Balkan states and improve relations with the states in Eastern Europe, with Iraq, and with India. We must make sure that we get our debts repaid: We have debts of $70 billion, and others owe us $100 billion. This is $30 billion in our favor. If we get those and improve the relations with our immediate neighbors, this has a further positive effect on our economic situation.

[Heresch] How do you solve the problem arising from the desire to be sovereign?

[Zhirinovskiy] In contrast to the other parties, we are against having national republics on Russian territory. There are to be no Tatarstan, Yakutsia, Bashkiria, or no North Caucasian Republics. Instead, 40 to 50 governments are to be established. As long as we do not have governments, there will also ways be conflicts and clashes, which for their part lead to resistance civil-war-like situations, and mass flight.

Thus, in summary, a new state system, a new economic policy, a new foreign policy—all this is to bring about better life. All this we want to implement under the slogan "For Russia, for all Russians." No Russian blood is to be spilt in nationality conflicts anymore.

Via economic improvement, we want to create a general calm climate of satisfaction. Just think of Ukraine, which owes us a lot of money, but cannot pay. What are we going to do? We take what it has got: factories, production sites, but also territory—the Crimea for instance. After all, it belongs to us anyway. We have already bought half of the Black Sea Fleet from Kiev so that they can pay their debts. We can save ourselves that trouble.

[Heresch] Will your ideas not lead to new conflicts?

[Zhirinovskiy] On the contrary. So far—at least since the collapse of the Soviet System—all my interlocutors, in particular in those places where there is unrest, have commented positively about the idea of reestablishing the governments. They have simply come to the conviction that this is the best possibility of a stable system.

Zhirinovskiy Says Ready for Government or Opposition

LD1412193593 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1800 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Excerpts] In a communique France has welcomed the democratic adoption of a new constitution by the Russian electors. [passage omitted]

In Moscow this afternoon Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the head of the extreme right, was busy calming down the emotions surrounding his success. I am a man of dialogue, able to govern, or to be in the opposition, Zhirinovskiy said when interviewed by our correspondent Nicolas Poincare, in excellent French:

[Begin recording] [Zhirinovskiy] I want to form the new government of Russia, or else to have a very strong faction in the parliament. It is only like this: Either to be in the government if that is possible, if it is what Mr. Yeltsin wants, or else to have a large and very strong faction in our parliament.

[Poincare] Do you yourself want to be prime minister, or a minister?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am ready to be either prime minister, or else simply a minister. I am ready. It is not a (?burning desire), only prime minister. We are ready to work only as ministers. But we have our cabinet ready to function, with me as prime minister and the others as ministers.

[Poincare] And if Mr. Yeltsin does not call on you, what will you do?

[Zhirinovskiy] We will remain as an opposition faction in the parliament. Not as an opposition for confrontation, but an opposition offering its help. To point out mistakes and to help.

[Poincare] Are you also ready to work with the communists?

[Zhirinovskiy] I can work with any force, because it is a compromise for our country. If it is necessary, perhaps we can have some posts for the communists and some posts for the democrats. That is possible.

[Poincare] You are being compared to Jean-Marie Le Pen. do you know him?

[Zhirinovskiy] I only know him from a courtesy visit.

[Poincare] But is he like you?

[Zhirinovskiy] (?I don't know.) I have seen the others, the party of Giscard d'Estaing, the party of Jacques Chirac, all the sides.

[Poincare] Which do you prefer?

[Zhirinovskiy] It does not matter. I like France simply as France. [end recording]

BNS Interviews Zhirinovsky on Stance Toward Baltics

WS1412152593 Tallinn BNS in English 1014 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 14, BNS—The official results of the Russian parliament election unknown yet, sources said that Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party was the most successful at the poll with tentative 20 percent of votes.

Zhirinovsky recently told BNS about his views on the Baltics.

Question: "How to explain your tough stance regarding the Baltics?"

Answer: "I love the Balts. We would gladly live together (with the Balts). All problems can be settled. God save us from hatred. (The Balts are) a nice cultured nation. And you need us. We won't build any frontiers, and Russians would gladly learn Estonian and Lithuanian if only the most favorable solution is reached.

The Baltics—this is wonderful, we would be able to live together always, forever. Lithuania would speak Russian, Polish and Lithuanian, Estonia will speak Estonian and Russian, and Kaliningrad could speak Russian and German. Just like in Finland, where people use both Finnish and Swedish. And the (interethnic) relations are normal there.

I say I love the Balts. I have a slightly negative attitude toward the southerners (the former Soviet southern republics), because there are too many criminals among them. But our party cherishes the warmest feelings toward the Baltics.

It was the journalists who portrayed us like enemies of the Baltic states. I met with Landsbergis (former Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman) and I met with representatives of the Latvian Supreme Council. I tried to call Arnold Ruutel (former Estonian Supreme Council chairman) in January 1991, but he was busy. (...) I was everywhere, in Tallinn, in Parnu, in Riga. I was everywhere and I know everything.

We have the best attitude toward the Baltics. I say I love you all, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, and all Russians who live there. The Baltics is a region of the highest culture and the broadest cooperation—no soldiers, no shooting, mere economy, culture and festivals."

Q: "Are you ready to speak with the Baltics in the language of sovereign countries instead of the language of provinces?"

A: "It's a completely different issue. If Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians are able to build their countries without discrimination and in compliance with the international law, we are ready (to let them do it). But if they jeer at Russians depriving them of voting rights and steal of Russia what belongs to Russia, then we will be forced to use the means of defense.

As economists and lawyers, we understand that the Baltics have the cold Baltic Sea in their west and Russia in their east. You have two chances only: to sail boats to Sweden, or to live at peace with Russia, but the peace must be just.

You should not steal of Russia. If you steal we will try to prevent it. If you try to deprive Russians of their rights we will answer with such steps that you will have no electors left to stage elections.

For we will always support any Russian, Pole or German who has Russian citizenship. If you use force to deprive them of voting rights, evict them from apartments, dismiss them from jobs, we will use economic methods only to square all accounts with the Baltics and your countries will collapse in two weeks after I have become the president of Russia. There will be not a single Baltic country if you continue your thievish policies."

Zhirinovskiy Foresees Change in Balkan Policy

AU1512110993 Sofia BTA in English 0952 GMT 15 Dec 93

["Russia Will Pursue a New Balkan Policy, Said Zhirinovskiy 6 Months Ago"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—Late last June, the leader of Russia's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was on a five-day visit to Bulgaria and said Russia's Balkan policy would change after the elections. Mr. Zhirinovskiy was heading a six-member delegation and the visit was his first ever to Eastern Europe.

Mr. Zhirinovskiy called the then Russian foreign policy wrongful as it allegedly failed to counter the drive of Turkey, the United States and other countries to partition the peninsula into spheres of influence. "Bulgaria is in a serious geopolitical situation," Mr. Zhirinovskiy said. He even foresaw Bulgaria as the first victim to the geopolitical changes, relating to the intention of creating a great Turkish state. Mr. Zhirinovskiy further qualified Russia's foreign policy as "wrongfully pro-American."

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy added he was considering an "anti-Atlantic Plan," uniting the states of Russia's geopolitical interests. He stressed the existence of the Slavs was jeopardized. "The Liberal Democratic Party is in favour of the restoration of ties with Bulgaria as a basis of pan-Slavic solidarity," Mr. Zhirinovskiy stressed. In his view, Bulgaria and Russia could initiate a pan-Slavic cooperation.

"Nearly 400 million Slavs live in Europe. They should unite, or else they will be conquered by Turkey and Germany, which has whetted its appetite for Poland and the Czech Republic," Mr. Zhirinovskiy observed. "If I become president, I will do my best to achieve this unity and will help Bulgaria in particular, because it has traditional historical, economic and cultural links with us."

Zhirinovskiy forecast at the time that his party would win 35 to 40 percent of the votes in the general elections and he would become president, sweeping Yeltsin and Rutskoy out.

Zhirinovskiy Interviewed on Party Program

AU1412155593 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Dec 93 pp 1,2

[AN-News interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, head of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party; place and date not given: "The Democracy of Violence"]

[Text] Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy was born in Alma-Ata [Almaty] in 1946 to a Jewish lawyer's family. He got two university degrees in Moscow and worked at the Mir Publishing House; he has never been a member of the Communist Party. Despite his quite dangerous political views, he received 6 percent of the votes at the last presidential elections in Russia. Now, it seems that the Liberal Democratic Party led by him has won the elections.

[PESTI HIRLAP] One can read in the minimum program of the Liberal Democratic Party that you would double the standard of living in three to four months if you won the elections.

[Zhirinovskiy] First of all, we are talking about six months and not three months, and this is what matters, because our people have become very tired of long-term promises. As for the specific figures, being an opposition party, we do not have official figures at our disposal, and we mostly use the press to learn about these figures. We know from the press that various aid packages use up 30 percent of our gross national product, there are 5,000 criminal organizations in this country, and the arms exports brought some $30 billion already years ago.

[PESTI HIRLAP] You are not interpreting the figures that appear in the press correctly, because the Soviet Union used to export mostly obsolete models to its ideological partners, and it has never received $30 billion for its weapons from anyone.

[Zhirinovskiy] The communists are to be blamed for donating things that can also be sold. We have weapons that could be sold. Some 24,000 tanks were melted down, although India would have bought them. Saddam Husayn would also be ready to pay $10 billion and also pay off his debt, but the Russian leaders do not talk to him.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Your proposals could only lead to antagonism, and would also mean further millions of refugees.

[Zhirinovskiy] It is easy to stop the wave of refugees. It would be enough to threaten the regions which the Russians are fleeing that we would also deal with our minorities similarly, and they would immediately calm down. Take note that democracy cannot exist without violence.

[PESTI HIRLAP] What is your opinion about the new constitution and the separation of the power of the president and of the parliament?

[Zhirinovskiy] If I want to be objective, I must say that parliamentary democracy is superior to the presidential power. It is more favorable to have a government subordinated to the parliament and a president in charge of conferring decorations and taking care of protocol visits abroad. This would be the ideal situation, but concretely in Russia, we need a strong presidential power and a strong president.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Your ideas contain empire ambitions and are suitable for inciting war.

[Zhirinovskiy] Not at all. Nothing has to be conquered again. We stop delivering timber to Ukraine and the mines will collapse; if we also stop delivering other goods, within three months Kravchuk will come begging on his knees to be allowed to return....

LDPR To Discuss 'Tactics;' Official Warns Media

LD1412220493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Zhirinovskiy's Liberal and Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) will be held in Moscow in the near future. [sentence as received] The meeting will focus on the party's tactics at the coming presidential elections in Russia, the party's spokesman in Estonia, Petr Rozhok, told BALTFAX. He said the LDPR held preliminary consultations with the Agrarian and Communist parties aiming to clarify their ambitions in the new parliament. Rozhok said his party will not contact with Russia's Choice, at least in the near future, since it considers this bloc a "devastating rather than creative force."

Rozhok also said that if Zhirinovskiy won the presidential elections, the mass media would be one of the first to be reshuffled. The changes will be brought about to the TV broadcasting company "Ostankino" in the first place due to its "excessive commercialization and propaganda of violence." The party is also unsatisfied with the Foreign Ministry's activities as it lacks a coherent strategy in the protection of the rights of ethnic Russians in the former Soviet republics and external economic policies.

Zhirinovsky To Demand Officials' Health Check

WS1512120193 Tallinn BNS in English 1842 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 14—Zhirinovsky's office is compiling a bill for the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party (LDPR) faction, according to which all Russian officials, including the President, have to pass a medical check-up, LDPR advisor, member of the Estonian Russian Citizens' Union Pjotr Rozhok told ETA.

According to him Zhirinovsky states that many of Russia's leaders suffer from psychical disturbance and other illnesses, which do not allow them to fully govern the state. The bill will include a list of the illnesses. Zhirinovsky thinks that medical check-up will facilitate "cleaning the structure of state authorities" and make them more effective.

Rozhok did not dwell upon the question whether Zhirinovsky himself would pass such an examination or not.

Audit Commission To Examine Campaign Funding

MK1512100793 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Viktor Mironov under the "Scandal" rubric: "A Case Involving 1 Billion Rubles"]

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]'s leading position has cost Vladimir Volfovich a pretty penny. According to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, he had to pay 1 billion rubles [R] during the electoral campaign!

KURANTY reached the LDPR's head office and tried to find out the details of this juicy sensation. However, none of the party's functionaries could confirm or deny their boss' statement.

P. Shenshin, staffer of the Central Electoral Commission's press service, gave us the following explanation on the subject. For the purpose of conducting an electoral campaign, all 13 blocs and parties were given R100 million rubles each. Talking about any extra funds used by party associations would be premature at this stage. In his words, a special audit commission has been set up, tasked with checking whether the parties have spent all this money properly. We can only hope that the commission will make public the results of its work, at least in the foreseeable future, compiling a complete list of all sources of sponsors' contributions received by the parties, and, most importantly, that it will determine the lawfulness of this "aid."

Iraqi Support Alleged

AU1512101793 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2130 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Thomas Roth report]

[Text] [Roth] In Moscow's Red Square this evening at 1800 GMT I am meeting with Mikhayl Ribyanov, who works as a reporter for the newspaper MOSCOW EVENING. He succeeded in infiltrating the party of the right-wing radical Zhirinovskiy as a member during the final phase of the election campaign. He gained access to the medium level of the party leadership in the Moscow district. What he discovered there was astonishing. So-called boyeviki, that is, secret combat groups who have access to weapons, allegedly exist within the party. They are working within the police and the Army today, and they would be ready to use the weapons for the goals of the party. They are part of a secret structure.

At today's news conference, the right-wing radical Zhirinovskiy naturally presented a completely different picture. He is trying to acquire the image of a man of the world so that he can present himself as a serious man to the international press as though he had never delivered inflammatory, anti-Semitic speeches during the election campaign, and as though he had never claimed that Russia extends as far as the Indian Ocean where the Russian soldiers can wash their boots.

When I asked Mikhayl what he heard about the party's relations with Iraq and financial support from there, he stated:

[Ribyanov in Russian with superimposed German translation] I got to know the party leader of the district of southern Moscow who told me that he travelled to Iraq

on behalf of the party six months ago. He met with people from the surroundings of Saddam Husayn and he was promised financial support. I did not find out how much money was involved and how it reached Russia.

[Roth] Asked whether he or his party received money at any time from Iraq, Zhirinovskiy stated briefly at the news conference: We have never received any money from any country in the world, not a single kopek, he stressed.

In his book *The Attack on the South,* Zhirinovskiy wrote that he wants to stop the dismantling of the weapons industry. Mikhayl Ribyanov stated that the right-wing radical party leader of the district of southern Moscow told him that Zhirinovskiy receives money from directors of the weapons industry. Incidentally, Zhirinovskiy explicitly thanked the Army at today's news conference. We have received numerous telegrams from Army units who support us, and we have repeatedly pointed out that the army should not be criticized and dragged through the mud, he emphasized. In his book, he stressed that the arms industry should be revived so that the country can earn money through weapons deals. The directors in the weapons industry will be pleased to hear that.

Reaction by Other Parties, Groups

Russia's Choice Officials Comment on Elections

Gaydar on Cooperation With Zhirinovskiy

LD1412185593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The executive committee of Russia's Choice declared its willingness to cooperate with any political forces, including communists, "if they are willing, to combat the fascist threat," the bloc's leader, First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar said.

In his words, the committee decided to formulate its position on the future Liberal Democratic Party parliamentary group. "It will essentially be that under no conditions will we cooperate with the LDP," Gaydar explained.

Russia's Choice advocates more consistent reforms to pull the country out of the economic crisis. Gaydar said that the meeting had discussed the work of the Russia's Choice group in the new parliament. The deputies who support it will meet in Moscow before the year end to work out a common position on the bills to be discussed by the Federal Assembly.

In Gaydar's words, the Russian government will be reshuffled in line with essential decisions President Boris Yeltsin will make about the cabinet and its policies.

"We believe that the entry of a fascist group into the Russian parliament poses a challenge to democracy to which two responses are possible," Gaydar continued. "One is a more consistent reform policy and its support by creating a broad democratic coalition. The other is revision of the present course to make it less consistent."

The choice his bloc will make, Gaydar said, would depend on the president's response to this alternative.

Gaydar attributed the electoral setback of December 12 to "excessive compromise, inconsistency and deviations from the reform course and excessive government control which reproduced the earlier disproportions in the country's economy in 1993."

Gaydar expressed the hope that Russia's Choice will not become a parliamentary minority in the Federal Assembly.

Poltoranin Comments

LD1412185893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Choice form a combination that is capable of effectively advancing reforms. Without this combination reforms are going to be blocked, according to a leading member of Russia's Choice and the head of the Federal Information Center Mikhail Poltoranin.

He told Interfax that the president should carry out a fundamental structural reorganization of the executive branch of power from the cabinet down to the provinces and after that reshuffle the staff.

"We have entered a new era: today Russia is a presidential republic that should have a strong executive branch of power," Poltoranin emphasized.

In his opinion the worst thing is that Russia has demonstrated its receptiveness of Nazism. Poltoranin said the fundamental causes of the change should be found. Still he accounted the election returns not to public disappointment with reforms, but the inconsistency of the government as a result of which the most critical stage of reforms was not passed before the end of the year.

Party To Be Preserved

LD1412185793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The executive committee of the bloc Russia's Choice has supported the proposal to preserve Russia's Choice as a political movement and to establish a new political party on its base. This was announced to INTERFAX by Leader of the bloc's election campaign Gennadiy Burbulis on Tuesday.

In his words, the committee also discussed "relations with the government and the president under conditions demanding the maximum consolidation of all democratic and reformist forces and forces interested in stability in the country" and "practical issues related to reforms in the power structures and organization of media."

Party Collecting Information

LD1412222193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Information Processing Center of Russia's Choice election bloc has called on all those who had any relation to the elections on December 12 to take part in the collection of information regarding the election returns at individual ballot stations with the aim to thoroughly analyze and check them. A statement of the bloc's press office points out that incidents of violations of the voting procedure and the count of votes must be immediately reported. The press office is asking to report the revealed violations to the bloc's candidates who will deliver them to the executive committee on Gertsena Str.,44.

Party Ponders 'Plan of Action'

PM1412163793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Democrats Admit Defeat and Work Out a Plan of Action"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the "Russia's Choice" political association convened for an emergency session 14 December. Opening it, bloc Chairman Ye. Gaydar noted that victory has a hundred fathers, but defeat is an orphan. It has to be admitted quite simply, he continued, that the democrats suffered a terrible defeat in the elections. Nevertheless, there is no call for panic. Lessons have to be drawn from this defeat, and a plan of primary actions worked out.

Presidential Administration Leader S. Filatov, taking part in the Executive Committee session, pointed out that there can be no telling how the picture for the elections on the party lists will look without the results of the ballots in Moscow and St. Petersburg—these are huge electoral districts which could alter the count considerably, but be that as it may, "Russia's Choice" must search for ways to consolidate the democratic forces.

The Executive Committee session lasted for approximately two hours. One participant, A. Kozyrev, had told journalists in particular that boundaries in the democratic camp were attributable primarily to personal ambitions. Now it is increasingly evident that the differences of opinion run far deeper and that they are based on divergent approaches to reforms in Russia. In the face of offensives by the brownshirts, the need arises to create an antifascist front which could unite not only the democratic forces but also the communists and all civilized parties. Communists in all countries have fought against fascism. So a merger between Russia's Communists and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] would expose them utterly.

In the opinion of G. Burbulis, what happened in the elections is what was predicted by the "Russia's Choice" bloc. After the October mutiny, no clear and unequivocal evaluation was given of the revanchist forces' actions. The atmosphere in the country on the eve of the elections had been extremely unfavorable for the democrats. We had predicted that one-third of the electorate would vote to continue reforms and another third would be categorically opposed to this. The rest would seek other alternatives. So it is that they found an odious figure in the form of Zhirinovskiy, who now becomes a political reality. And thank God, G. Burbulis continued, that everything turned out in precisely that way but to a lesser extreme. Among the reasons which have determined a disposition of forces in the future parliament favoring the Right he named the lack of a targeted policy in respect of various strata of society and the regions, and wishful thinking on the part of people who grew up under a communist regime and who, from force of inertia, hope for simple solutions to their problems.

Yavlinskiy on Triumph of 'National-Socialist Party'

LD1412181593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1612 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Another news conference on the election results, held by the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin electoral bloc, took place in Moscow today. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy spoke to journalists on behalf of the bloc. Over to our special correspondent Konstantin Novikov.

[Novikov] The bloc's leader described the election procedure as undemocratic and blamed the authorities for the preliminary results, reproaching them for not making an analysis of real life in time. Yavlinskiy also said that the Russian authorities' categorical hostility to a civilized democratic opposition was one of its specific features. However, reproaches against the authorities were not the only remarks Yavlinskiy made:

[Begin Yavlinskiy recording] One can conclude from the preliminary results that the national-socialist party has triumphed. What other reaction could be expected from society to the conditions of life for almost two years, conditions of 20-30 percent inflation, conditions of quite high hidden unemployment? For too long, policy in the country has been totally vague on very many issues. Neither military doctrine, nor foreign policy doctrine, or the nature of relations with our immediate neighbors. [sentence as heard] There was an open flow of people to our country from China. About 5 million people from China have illegally crossed the border. There was absolutely no debate on these issues. There were very many factors of this kind which, taken together, caused a sense of extreme long-term dissatisfaction.

Twelve hours before the elections, a long film was shown which some people may have thought was a film critical of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR]. Here I share the assessment which the LDPR itself gave; it immediately issued a statement saying: No one could have imagined a better advertisement for us.

It has been a strange kind of protest by people against the present authorities. I think that many people are having second thoughts now. We were dismayed when President Yeltsin received all the blocs in the Kremlin, and placed the LDPR, Mr. Zhirinovskiy on his right and Mr. Gaydar on his left. [end recording]

[Novikov] In response to a question about the possibility of the bloc cooperating with other parties and blocs who get into the Federal Assembly, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy cited the new constitution in which the powers of parliament are clearly stated. In contrast to the president, the Federal Assembly is given a very small place, Yavlinskiy said.

Comments on Voting

LD1412160493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1441 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Early returns from Sunday's election reflect the people's reaction to the situation in the country rather than being the result of infighting in the democratic camp, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy of the independence alliance he leads told INTERFAX on Tuesday.

He said the rise of nationalism and communism should come as no suprise given the deep economic crisis, two years of the government's mishandling of the economy, and the crushing of the parliamentary revolt two months ago in particular. He says the emergence of several pro-democracy alliances in such conditions does not amount to a tactical mistake.

If we merged with the Gaydar-led Russia's Choice, the electorate would not have bothered to turn up on the polling day because of doubts in the government's economic policy rather than the reforms as a whole, he said. However, Yavlinskiy believes his alliance would only help beef up the democratic wing in the new parliament.

Commenting on the Russia's Choice leader's call on Monday to set up a broad pro-democracy coalition in the new legislature, Yavlinskiy described the proposal as sensible but this could not be done until after the composition of a new parliament became clear.

Says Elections Undemocratic

LD1412223393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian authority is intolerant of democratic opposition, "this is why we have now national-socialist opposition," Grigory Yavlinskiy, leader of the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc thinks. He told a news conference in Moscow that the elections were not democratic, for government blocs had the advantage over other blocs, some of which were democratic. Yavlinsky described the apparent electoral victory of Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic Party as "not very much of a sensation" in the context of the economic crisis and the executive authority policy which "has for a long time been very ambiguous in numerous areas." Many people felt cheated in their expectations. Yavlinsky thinks that he "failed to make a democratic alternative to the governmental course known to most voters." He expressed the hope that the election results "do not fully reflect society's mood" but "are a serious warning" to the democrats.

Yavlinskiy emphasized, however, that by the new Constitution parliament "has a very insignificant role to play as far as specific actions are concerned." The chief part will be played by the president who will form the government and the whole executive structure. The president has advocated retaining the present government, Yavlinskiy noted. "Boris Yeltsin is the key figure and the political situation will largely depend on him," Yavlinsky said and added that he was apprehensive of the new Constitution adopted in a referendum. First, "it is hard to change in parliament" and, second, it gives too much power to the president, Yavlinskiy said. "How will he act once he has this unrestrained power and what happens when this president is replaced?," Yavlinsky asked. He thinks that the new parliament has to unite all political forces for specific work in continuation of the reforms.

Communist Leader Wants 'Government of National Confidence'

PM1412153793 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Reply by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, to the question of an unidentified journalist on 13 December; place not given: "What Is the Essence of the Choice?"]

[Text] Gennadiy Zyuganov replies to this question after the first results of the elections have been counted:

"Our party went into the elections calling on people to vote for honest, courageous people. And today it can already be said with confidence that the renewed party is receiving the people's support.

"Right now we are counting the results according to territorial districts. It is already known that Ilyukhin and Lukyanov, Tuleyev and Lodkin, Stroyev and Vlasov—that is to say, people whose honest civic standpoint and professionalism are in no doubt—have already succeeded in the territorial districts. As for the postelection night, the big political show devised by 'Russia's Choice' as a majory victory over their opponents did not take place.

"Now on the Constitution. No one in the world has adopted a constitution this century without nationwide discussion and its support by at least half of the electorate. Our 'democrats' decided to open a new political era by attempting to force through a constitution in a society plunged into shock after the tragic events of October and to adopt it by the minimum number of votes, disregarding the mood both in the republics, and in the krays and oblasts. According to available statistics, many national state formations belonging to the Russian Federation and regions did not support this version of the Constitution. We nevertheless hope that good sense will prevail and that the Federal Assembly will do everything to pave the way for the law and adopt the Constitution according to procedures generally accepted in world political practice.

"We have not betrayed our friends or our comrades, hence the coalition formed in the old parliament, involving patriotic movements, agrarians, industrialists, Christian democrats, Constitutional Democrats, the Russian National Union, and a whole series of other movements is not simply intact but is actually expanding. We are confident that we will find good mutual understanding with the overwhelming majority of blocs for whom peace in the country and prosperity in every home are the highest value. We are open to dialogue with everyone, but we would like to say in advance that, no matter what constitutions are proposed, no matter what coups anyone perpetrates, if the course of "shock therapy," which is antipeople in its very essence and absolutely destructive for the Russian state, is continued, no one will be able to help us. Hence the need for a change of course and the formation of a government of national confidence, which must be given all powers to implement a specific program but which must also be accountable to the country's supreme legislative organ of power. We will submit our proposals on this score at a session of the new parliament."

Sees Similarity With Democratic Party

LD1412144393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Dec—Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov said at a news conference today that his party's policy, in his view, has the following priorities: Russia's territorial integrity, voluntary fraternal reunion of peoples of the USSR, preservation of peace and prevention of civil war, and prosperity in the home of everyone, rather than of some.

Speaking of the results of the recent elections, he said that the Communist Party respects the decision of the people and "will go the the Federal Assembly to pave the way to the law, and to drive the country onto the road of civilized development by means of a constructive dialogue between all political forces." He said that communists' political sympathies in the parliament will not change. "We do not switch friends and allies with whom we worked in the Congress of People's Deputies," he underlined.

Gennadiy Zyuganov believes that, on many issues, the stance of the Democratic Party of Russia is close to that of the communists. The Communist Party itself can expect to win 30 to 32 seats in the parliament on the party ticket, and about 30 in single-seat constituencies. Noting the success of the Liberal-Democratic Party, Gennadiy Zyuganov noted that the Communist Party is ready to cooperate with members of the Liberal-Democratic Party, who, on the whole, support the priorities of the policy of the Communists, however, statements about "crusades to the south or the east have nothing in common with constructive politics." At the same time, he stressed that there are two real candidates for the post of parliamentary speaker since the victory of the Liberal-Democratic Party. In his opinion, these are Sergey Shakhray and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The Communists support a candidacy which does not go to extremes and which will get going effective dialogue between the factions.

Commenting upon the pronouncements by Yegor Gaydar on the possibility of cooperation between Russia's Choice and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation on certain questions, Gennadiy Zyuganov noted that "the party will support only a coalition which is directed toward the rebirth of Russia and in this event we are prepared to sit down at the table with anyone at all."

In reply to a question by the ITAR-TASS correspondent on what he thinks of Andrey Sakharov, the anniversary of whose death falls today, Gennadiy Zyuganov stressed that he considers him to be an eminent scientist, however, it is only regrettable that "the democrats did not become consistent supporters of his political legacy."

Vows To Work Against 'National Extremism'

LD1412165793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 14 Dec 93

["National Extremism is Fatal for Russia—Zyuganov"]

[Text] First Deputy Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Valentin Kuptsov, has described the results of the December 12 elections as the victory of Communists. The elections have shown that Socialist ideology is still alive in the people's hearts and will win the hearts of voters, he told a news conference in Moscow Tuesday. Kuptsov believes the Communists expect to receive 70-80 out of 450 seats in the State Duma.

The party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov has said that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is the second most likely candidate for chairman in the Duma after the Russian Vice-Premier—who is running for the post. Zyuganov has said the Communists intend to create in parliament a left-centrist coalition which will propose the candidate for the chairmanship. It should be a person who sticks to constructive work, not to political rhetoric, he pointed out.

He did not give a direct answer on the possible cooperation of his party with Liberal Democrats in the State Duma. Zyuganov has said that the Communists are prepared to cooperate with all forces sharing its ideas of the territorial integrity and revival of the Soviet Union and who support civil peace.

He also said the Communists will work against any manifestation of national-extremism. Commenting on the proposal by the Russia's Choice leader Yegor Gaydar to create an anti-fascist bloc in the Duma, Zyuganov said that instead of forming blocs, Gaydar needed to introduce changes into his economic course, otherwise he will stop being a politician. The Russian president will have to work with what he has. For our part, we shall try to make his work constructive.

He told the news conference that on December 5 the plenary meeting of the party's Central Executive Committee will be held which will outline the Communists actions in the new parliament.

Will Aim for 'Stabilization'

PM1512102593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Valentina Nikiforova transcript of comments by Russian Federation Communist Party leaders Zyuganov and Kuptsov, under the general heading "Victors but No Victory": "Leaders of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation: 'People Had Faith in Our Program'"]

[Text] The final election results have not yet been drawn up and are still being sorted out. But the preliminary results show that the Federal Assembly will include the people who cherish the Fatherland. They will include deputies from the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Here is how party leaders Gennadiy Zyuganov and Valentin Kuptsov view the election results.

G. Zyuganov. The results are quite satisfactory. Our 11-12 percent of the votes gives a certain number of seats. In addition, the Communists have won support in the territorial districts.

V. Kuptsov. In 15 territorial districts around 500,000 people voted for Russian Communist Party representatives. The goals which the Communist Party set itself for this period have been achieved: We will have our representatives in the Federal Assembly. But there was another, equally important aim—the Communist Party of the Russian Federation has grown stronger as a result of this work and everyone, from primary cells to party committees, increased their activity. In this short period it has proved possible to talk about the program, plans, and position. Of course, haste and the lack of resources and even premises took their toll. But by voting for our representatives people expressed their faith in our program and in what we will be able to achieve. That is the main thing.

G. Zyuganov. We have a clear program. It is a program for the restoration of civil peace and the rule of law and is designed to return the country to a civilized path of development. Its first stage is to restore the activity of the three branches of power on a legal basis. The second is the transitional period of economic and political stabilization and the election of new people's representatives. The third and final stage is to elaborate and implement a new fundamental law for the state. The program will undoubtedly be implemented in the form of concrete proposals and laws.

V. Kuptsov. It is vexing that the draft Constitution has been forced through. Just consider its true weight. Out of 105,284,000 registered voters only around 29 million voted for the draft, according to the preliminary figures.

G. Zyuganov. People live under a Constitution when it is adopted by two-thirds of the population and when it is supported by state formations—the components of the Federation. Even if the draft submitted to the referendum is approved, it will undoubtedly be amended. The Communists and our allies will defend working people's social guarantees and citizens' democratic rights and freedoms. We went to the polls with the idea of laying down a path toward law. And we hope that in this regard we will have sympathizers and allies.

V. Kuptsov. The new parliament—although this is not an entirely accurate definition of the newly elected body—has plenty of work to do and faces a difficult future. But what I want to say now is: thank you to those who helped our candidates achieve victory, those who took part in collecting signatures, who organized all the preelection work, and who were registered as observers and worked in the electoral precincts to ensure that there were no violations or falsifications.

Sobchak Draws Parallels With Hitler's Germany

AU1412202593 Paris AFP in English 1956 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] St Petersburg, Russia, Dec 14 (AFP)—Reformist St Petersburg mayor Anatoly Sobchak warned Tuesday [14 December] that Russia was now facing the same situation as Germany before World War II following the strength of support for ultra-nationalists.

"Russia is in the same situation as Germany before World War II when they voted enthusiastically for Adolf Hitler," Sobchak said.

Extreme right leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy had "hypnotised the people with aberrant promises and outrageously demagogic methods," the mayor said, adding that the widely divided democrats had been unable to win support from Russians.

Sobchak said he was concerned that the ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party and the communists would team up to paralyse the workings of the new State Duma.

Says Time for Strong Party

LD1412223093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, one of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement [RDRM] leaders, said in the aftermath of the elections that the time for loose movements was over and a strong party had to be created. He told Interfax that he intended to run in the next election campaign, most probably not under the RDRM's auspices. During the two years before the presidential elections the democratic forces should catch second wind and give the people faith. What is important, he thinks, is to create during that period a middle class of proprietors, implement land reform and support farmers and small businesses. The RDRM leader admitted that he, Russia's Choice and Yavlinskiy's bloc had made numerous mistakes in their campaigning and, most regrettably, allowed democratic movements to split. In his view, political opponents, notably the LDP [Liberal-Democratic Party] leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, "scored a success by making demagogic promises which will never be honored." The LDP and communists, who received nearly 50 percent of the votes between them, are capable, Sobchak thinks, of obstructing useful legislation in parliament and so the government and president will have to change their tactics in dealing with parliament. On the other hand, Sobchak was pleased that the people voted for the new constitution.

Shakhray Says State Duma Will Be 'Complete Mosaic'

LD1412230693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC), says that the State Duma will be "a complex mosaic." He told Interfax Tuesday that no party or bloc will have a majority in the lower house of the Federal Assembly and so, in his words, "most interesting" coalitions may emerge. Shakhray believes that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, which had won more votes than any other bloc, would have nearly 60 seats and Russia's Choice up to 50 seats, as many as the communists, in the State Duma. As a result, there will be three large parliamentary groups. The Agrarian party and the Russia's Women movement will have eight to nine votes each. Yavlinskiy's bloc and PRUC will have 20 seats each, he thinks. Shakhray believes that blocs and coalitions will emerge depending on the issue discussed rather than along party lines. He also thinks that because the presumed bloc of the communists and Zhirinovskiy will muster 50 percent of votes in parliament, legislation will depend on whether the Federation Council (the upper house) uses its veto right and whether the president signs it." Shakhray said that leaders of republics, territories and regions had won most seats in the Federation Council and so that house would be a stabilizing factor because people who are in power now will sit in it. He hopes that both the president and the government will have good working relations with the upper house. He did not doubt that President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin should be thoroughly analyzing the election results. In any case, he thinks, the country should move to a civilized coalition government. The vice premier said that the new government should rely more on the Federation Council because the State Duma could not have a serious political majority. Shakhray said that with as few as six percent of the votes behind his PRUC he could not expect to be elected State Duma speaker.

Agrarian Party Leader Rules Out Factional Deals

LD1412162593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1542 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] On Tuesday [14 December] leader of Russia's Agrarian Party Mikhail Lapshin declared to Interfax that it is just the same for him - "experiments over the people by Yegor Gaydar and his team" or "the promises of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy."

Regarding Gaydar's statement about Russia's Choice's readiness to cooperate in an anti-fascist coalition with everyone, including the Communists, Lapshin indicated that "the present Russian reformers are not tired of promising a bright future to the people and actually pushing them into poverty" but "we do not know what the Liberal- Democratic Party of Russia, which is being diligently decorated with labels, is going to do." In Lapshin's words, the Agrarian Party predicted "a rapid growth in LDPR popularity" in the course of the pre-election campaign and "though it disagrees with its leader's points of view, the Agrarian Party treats with respect those voters who supported the Liberal-Democratic candidates to the Federal Assembly."

The leader of the Agrarian Party believes that Zhirinovskiy's success at the elections is "a mirror reflection of the two-year Yeltsin-Gaydar policy and a kind of popular protest against this policy which leads the country to catastrophe" rather than the consequence "of the Democrats' split on the eve of the elections, as they try to represent it, and, of course, not the guilt of journalists."

The sole method of struggle with the growing influence of the LDPR, Lapshin said, is "not to wage a propaganda war, it is difficult to compete with Zhirinovskiy" but "to thoroughly correct reforms to turn them not against the human being, as it is now, but for his good; the main thing is to stop this sad experiment which is being carried out now over Russia's people."

The chairman of the Agrarian Party reported to Interfax that by participating in the work of the State Duma and Federation Council the party's deputies "intend to strengthen the party's independence and do not intend to join any faction or bloc on organizational principles." At the same time in order "to resolve concrete issues" they are ready to cooperate with those who "share points of view of the agrarians and come out for the peasants' interests."

Democratic Russia Leader Calls for Anti-Fascist Movement

LD1412231593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1706 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Dec—Lev Ponomarev, one of the leaders of the "Democratic Russia" bloc, called today for an anti-Fascist movement to be created immediately. He was addressing a meeting of the action group for organizing resistance to the growing threat of Fascism in Russia. It was also attended by Vasiliy Selyunin, the well-known publicist, and Yuriy Chernichenko, leader of the Agrarian Party.

In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Lev Ponomarev pointed out that the movement should be created not only from "Russia's Choice", but from all democratic blocs, representatives of which he had invited to the meeting. "Some of them did not come today, but, next time, after taking stock of the situation, they are sure to come," he added.

According to him, it is now essential, in the first place, to organize the movement's headquarters and to form action groups urgently in the regions.

Jewish Group Voices Concern at Position of 'Some Parties'

LD1412221593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Congress of Jewish Communities and Organizations of Russia has said it was concerned over the positions of "some parties and associations which came into the parliament as a result of the elections and whose election programs contained non-democratic and anti-humanitarian provisions regarding the ethnic issue." "We are confident that none of Russia's peoples, least of all Russians, needs ethnic differences," says a statement passed by the congress. The body called on the deputies of the new parliament, regardless of their political convictions, to clearly and definitely condemn these shameful facts. However, the statement does not indicate whose positions caused concern of the congress.

Bashkortostan President on Relations With Russia

LD1412185193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By correspondents Madril Gafurov and Leonid Meshkov, including recorded remarks made by Bashkortostan President Murtaza Rakhimov]

[Text] No second round of voting in the presidential elections will be needed Bashkortostan.

[Correspondent] Today Murtaza Rakhimov, the first president of the Republic of Bashkortostan, received greetings from his fellow countrymen. Sixty-four percent of the voters in the republic voted for him on 12 December. Today, the Central Electoral Commission registered him as president, and issued him with relevant documents.

[Rakhimov] The main thing is to continue the political stability our republic currently has. We are for treaty-based relations, and for the implementation of the talks we have had with the Russian Federation Government.

Irrespective of the situation that has now come about in connection with the adoption of the new Constitution, the process leading to a treaty will be continued, and the declaration of state sovereignty adopted by Bashkortostan's Supreme Soviet will be implemented.

Bashkir Leader Calls Constitution Premature

LD1412221093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] According to early election results, during the referendum in Bashkiria 56 percent of voters turned down the draft of the new Russian constitution. Interfax was told by the local electoral committee that 40.8 percent supported the fundamental law. Commenting on the outcome of the referendum in an interview for Interfax the Bashkir President Murtaza Rakhimov said that such an important document as the constitution should by no means be adopted through a referendum. This should be the prerogative of the supreme legislative body. As a result instead of a proper constitution Russia got a prematurely born baby that will now have to be nursed and raised, the Bashkir leader said. According to Rakhimov, the negative response in his republic can be partly accounted to the last moment dropping of the provision on the sovereignty of the republics from the draft. The other reason in his opinion is that the key document for federation members - the Federation Treaty - was not placed at the heart of the constitution.

Recriminations After LDPR Election Triumph

LD1412222093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Representatives of political movements and artistic unions have decided to set up a broad anti-fascist coalition. Speakers in the House of the Russian Press in Moscow Tuesday [14 December] analyzed and sharply criticized the activities of democrats, democratic movement and journalists as a result of which the Liberal Democratic Party won the December elections to the Federal Assembly. "Russia will for the first time run a serious test, if it capable of protecting itself and its people and the globe, for when he comes to power, Zhirinovskiy will brandish the nuclear bomb," Sergey Grigoriants, the well-know human rights activist said. [sentence as received] Andrey Cherkizov, political observer of Radio Moscow Echo radio, described the election results as "a tragic defeat." In his view, "Zhirinovskiy was created by the mass media" and Mikhail

Poltoranin, Vyacheslav Bragin, Oleg Poptsov and Nikolay Ryabov were the first to blame for his victory. Andrey Nuikin, the famous columnist, called on the democrats "to cut all arguments" and join their efforts against fascism in Russia.

Shchelkovo Candidate Claims LDPR Violated Voting Regulations

LD1412222293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The head of the Moscow Anti-Monopoly Department Oleg Novikov intends to appeal the election results in electoral district 114 in Shchelkovo, near Moscow, where the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy took the upper hand. He made the announcement to INTERFAX on Tuesday. In his opinion the voting procedure regulations were violated. The name of a member of Yavlinskiy's group who withdrew his candidacy for the benefit of Novikov was not left out of the ballots. Besides, according to Novikov, the ballot read "staff member of government bodies" instead of "the head of the Moscow Anti-Monopoly Department, Dr.S. (Economics), professor".

International Reaction

NATO, WEU Not To Change Policies Toward Moscow

LD1412211393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2053 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Valeriy Shashkov, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Brussels, 14 December, TASS—The policy of NATO and the Western European Union [WEU] as regards Russia will not be affected by the recent parliament elections, a news conference held after a joint meeting of NATO and Union councils was told here today.

Head of the Western European Union Willem Van Eekelen positively estimated the adoption of a democratic constitution by the majority of Russian electors. As for the rest, there is no need for NATO and the Union to change their policy on Russia. Van Eekelen stressed the West hopes for further Russian progress towards democracy and market economy.

Commenting on concern of the Baltic and former Soviet allies in the Warsaw treaty, Deputy NATO Secretary-General Amadeo de Franchis said the developing concept of partnership in the name of peace will give certain guarantees to East European nations.

The joint session of NATO and Western European Union councils dwelt on the upcoming NATO summit scheduled for January.

Zhirinovskiy's Success May Prompt U.S. Policy Rethink

PM1412162993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Zhirinovskiy's Success Gives Ukraine Grounds for Retaining Nuclear Weapons and East Europe Grounds for Demanding Admission to NATO"]

[Text] Washington—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's dash for power did not take America unaware. In the final days before the elections many newspapers predicted success for him through the mouths of their correspondents in Moscow. Having a wealth of experience of such campaigns, they picked out Zhirinovskiy as the only candidate making skillful, thrifty, and productive use of the advantages of television.

Of course, nobody managed to predict the scale of the Liberal Democratic Party leader's success. And every mention of the party itself is always still accompanied by the explanation: "a misleading title." The initial commentaries from Moscow betrayed slight stupefaction.

Only one of the administration staffers with whom I spoke suggested that Zhirinovskiy's vocabulary will become more restrained and cautious under the burden of the real responsibility of power. All my other interlocutors believed that Zhirinovskiy has little chance of changing and moving to a different political level.

The first radio and television commentaries do not directly raise the possibility of changes in Russian-U.S. relations because of the new composition of parliament. First because the composition itself remains a mystery: The emergence of specific individuals from the heat of battle in the single-seat districts is regarded as a sphere of total unpredictability. Second, no one supposes for a moment that Boris Yeltsin might instruct Zhirinovskiy to form a government or even give him any post with the slightest influence on international affairs.

However, the indirect hints form an inexorable sequence, prompting Americans to heave a barely audible sigh for the recent times when the main bad guy was Aleksandr Rutskoy, and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was regarded as not so much a danger as a source of entertainment. Zhirinovskiy, only recently virtually the butt of jokes, now inspires fear.

Observers foresee the need for a fresh analysis of the U.S. approach toward at least two urgent problems. The first concerns Ukraine and the prospects for ratification of the START II treaty and the Lisbon protocol.

In particular, as J. Matlock, former ambassador to the USSR, said on the evening analysis program on TV, Zhirinovskiy's resounding success will do more than slow the pace of economic reform. In order to catch the millions of voters who have proved susceptible to nationalist declamations, Yeltsin himself will have to turn toward them and change, if not actual policy, then at least his vocabulary to suit their needs. This in itself will lend greater cogency both to Ukraine's fears and its reluctance to dismantle nuclear missile weapons and ship them to Russia under the terms of the Lisbon protocol.

Second, there is an even more serious point connected with the Central European states' request to join NATO. The transitional forms of cooperation offered by the White House, which make no provision for security guarantees and the total military integration of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, have evoked clear disappointment in those countries and harsh criticism in the West, primarily in the United States itself, where Clinton is being accused of a "second Yalta"—a reference to the agreement between Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill which placed Eastern and Central Europe in the Soviet Union's power after the 1945 Yalta conference.

The unfavorable scenario envisages implementation of Zhirinovskiy's ideas about gathering the former republics together beneath the old Moscow umbrella, which would be bound to lead to a giant Yugoslavia over an area covering 11 time zones.

In the absence of official comments there is speculation about likely adjustments to the U.S. Administration's policy, but any changes, even if they are deemed necessary, will be implemented very slowly and will in no way emerge before President Clinton concludes his visit to Moscow in January.

U.S. Reaction to Elections Reported

LD1412182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1758 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Washington December 14 TASS—The White House statement released in the American capital on Tuesday [14 December], says that the United States is congratulating the government and the people of Russia on the historic elections.

Stressing that the elections were well organized and carried out in a peaceful and correct way, the White House called them a shining example of that significant progress which Russians had reached in building the democratic future in the past two years.

By approving the new constitution and voting for a new composition of the legislative body, the Russian people removed the last remnants of the former Soviet system and replaced them by new legitimate institutions which would lay the foundation for the further establishment of democratic society, the document says.

For the time being it is still early to judge the final results of the elections and the composition of the deputy corps, the statement runs, but President Boris Yeltsin declared his readiness to start a constructive dialogue with different political forces which would be represented there. The White House expresses the hope that this approach will find a similar reaction among all responsible politicians in Russia.

Now that Russia is entering into a new epoch and continues to form its democratic institutions, the United States will proceed to give resolute support for political and economic reforms in Russia, the document stresses.

According to the White House statement, U.S. President Bill Clinton will be glad to visit Moscow in January 1994 and discuss with President Boris Yeltsin and other politicians the issue as to how the United States will be able to continue partnership with Russia.

East European Reaction to Russian Elections

AU1412152293 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Jean Burner: "Eastern Europeans Uneasy Over Russian Vote"]

[Text] Vienna, Dec 14 (AFP)—Eastern European states, free from four decades of Soviet domination, are casting new worried looks at Moscow amid fears Sunday's elections could herald a resurgence in Russian expansionism.

Diplomats said the surprisingly strong showing by Russian ultra- nationalists in the parliamentary polls could add new urgency to the drive by former eastern bloc states for closer security ties with the West.

"Former members of the Warsaw Pact, who no longer have Russian troops on their territory, had feared above all a return of Greater Russia nationalism, which is just what happened," a western diplomat said here.

"There is no doubt that the victory of the ultranationalists in Russia will push the eastern European states to insist even more on quick membership in NATO," said the diplomat, who asked not to be named.

Former Soviet republics were also alarmed, including the Ukraine, where an official said the poll results proved that Kiev was right to hold onto its arsenal of nuclear weapons.

"Our predictions have proved correct. Russia is far from being a democracy," said Dmitri Pavlichko, foreign affairs spokesman for the Ukraine parliament.

One member of parliament did not rule out Kiev asking for the nuclear codes to its weapons.

Deep concern filtered through all official and press reactions in eastern Europe to the elections that left the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy the largest bloc in the new Russian parliament.

"The majority of Russians have voted for ultranationalist parties which are clearly following a superpower line," said Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, spokesman for Poland's ruling Union of the Democratic Left party

Romuald Szeremietiew, leader of Poland's conservative Movement for the Republic, said Zhirinovskiy's rise "could constitute a danger for Polish interests given Russia's geopolitical situation and military doctrine."

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said Zhirinovskiy's party "leans to exaggeration and extremism" while the leftist SME newspaper in Slovakia warned bluntly, "it is time to be afraid."

Bulgaria's two major parties expressed alarm and the independent daily CONTINENT saw only bleak options ahead: "An unwanted compromise (between reformers and ultra-nationalists), political chaos, the dissolving of parliament or new elections."

But Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus urged a wait-and-see attitude on Moscow. "Russia cannot go backwards," he said. "We must avoid jumping to conclusions about the next Russian government."

Romania still hoped for the continuation of democratic reforms despite the victory of the ultra-nationalists. "If this process does not continue it could lead to problems in Romanian-Russian relations," said one official.

The Russian elections were likely to dominate Wednesday's summit in Estonia of leaders from the three Baltic states, which are pressing for the withdrawal of Moscow's troops from their soil.

Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar said the situation was reminiscent of Germany during the rise of Hitler and would prompt his country to seek closer links with western Europe.

Also anxious were Russia's Nordic neighbours, Sweden and Norway. Swedish Defense Minister Anders Bjoerk said his neutral country would not remain neutral if the Baltic states were attacked.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Joergen Holst, whose country is a NATO member, said the election success of a man who wants to reconstitute the Russian empire did not augur well for stability in Europe.

Several eastern European states, notably Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, had already been pressing for membership in the 16-member North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

But Moscow has vehemently opposed moves by its former satellites to join NATO and western officials are reluctant to do anything that might make the Russians feel isolated and hurt their reform efforts.

"From the operational point of view, right at this moment, we do not see the need to change our policy toward Russia or central and eastern Europe countries after this election," said Amedeo De Franchis, NATO's deputy secretary general.

Ukraine's Kravchuk on 'Indivisible Russia' Slogan

LD1412164193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1540 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Excerpt] Kiev, 14 Dec (TASS)—Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk told a news conference today that "a final assessment of the result of the Russian elections can only be made after the new parliament assembles and takes its first decisions." "These will then be decisions by a state body. For the time being one can only speak of the election platforms of various blocs and parties. I do not want to analyze these platforms, since every party is entitled to put forward its own arguments and programs," the president stressed.

"However I am, of course, alarmed, because millions of Russian citizens voted for the slogan of 'a great and indivisible Russia'," Leonid Kravchuk noted. What is being spoken of now is a direct revanche. But I hope that the present authorities, the president of Russia, and all democratic forces will not allow these revanchist ideas to develop into state policy. If they do, nevertheless, develop into state policy, this would signify the start of huge cataclysms in the world and in Europe, leading to carve-ups and re- partitions. All the same I have faith in Russia's healthy forces," Leonid Kravchuk stressed. [passage omitted]

Warns of 'Huge Disaster'

AU1412170393 Paris AFP in English 1652 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By Paola Messana]

[Excerpts] Kiev, Dec 14 (AFP)—President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine warned Tuesday [14 December] that Europe and the rest of the world would face disaster if Russian ultra-nationalists' "ideas of revenge" should dominate the country's policy. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk told a news conference here, "I hope that Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the executive will not allow ideas of revenge to become a state concept."

Should Zhirinovskiy's "populist electoral platform become state policy, it would be the beginning of a huge disaster for Europe and the rest of the West."

The support by millions of Russians of "revanchism and the restoration of a Czarist empire is a threat to Ukraine," he said.

Kravchuk was hopeful that "democratic forces in Russia will overcome this temporary setback."

"I cannot say that I am not worried," he said, adding however that one had to wait for the new Russian parliament's first decisions before drawing conclusions.

Visiting Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said the outcome of Sunday's poll was "a warning for the democratic forces." [passage omitted]

Ukrainian ultra-nationalist MP Stepan Khmara called Tuesday for Ukraine to "gain operational control over its arms.

"Without it, it will not be independent," he said.

Control codes can be easily obtained within three days, said Boris Oleinik, a pro-communist deputy, adding that this was a political issue and not a technical one. [passage omitted]

Ukrainian leaders have said previously that they could obtain the nuclear codes "but had no wish to." [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry To Make Statement

LD1412192493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry will make a statement as soon as final election results in Russia are known, Yuriy Sergeyev, head of the ministry's information department said at a briefing in Kiev.

He noted that Ukraine would "have a friendly neighbor" if all the Constitution's provisions are observed.

Sergeyev expressed the hope that "the viewpoint that foreign policy must be based on civilized fundamentals will prevail in Russia's new parliament."

Former prime minister Leonid Kuchma, a leader of the inter- regional reform bloc, attributed Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's electoral success to "his easily comprehensible speeches and society's political immaturity." On the other hand, Kuchma told Interfax-Ukraine, "numerous Russians do want a Russian empire restored within the Soviet borders."

"The Russian election results proved that the people rejected the course taken by the authorities," Aleksandr Moroz, a leader of the Socialist Party, told Interfax-Ukraine. In his view, "the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon is, among other things, a reaction to the execution of parliament and ban on political parties and also the desire to have law and order prevail. On the other hand, people say that those who are behind him are more important than Zhirinovskiy himself."

Stepan Khmara, leader of the Conservative Republican Party, described the election results as "positive for Ukraine." He emphasized in an Interfax-Ukraine interview that they "will dispel for good the illusions about the imperial nature of Russia." In his view, "what Zhirinovskiy is talking about is actually being done by the Yeltsin government with its policy of ethnic conflicts and territorial claims on Ukraine." Khmara thinks that the victory of the Liberal Democratic Party in Russian elections must make "Ukrainians do more thinking about security of their state."

Parliament Wants State Control of Missiles

AU1412145093 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By Paola Messana]

[Excerpts] Kiev, Dec 14 (AFP)—Ukraine said it might ask Russia to hand over the codes for the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory following the success by ultra-nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in parliamentary polls Sunday, a senior parliamentary official said Tuesday [14 December].

Igor Dirkatck, an influential member of the Parliamentary Defence Committee, told AFP that Ukraine "must seek to obtain the codes enabling it to control the nuclear missiles stationed on its territory to meet the threat to its security represented by Zhirinovskiy."

"Zhirinovskiy and the Communist Party want to restore the Soviet empire and bring Russia back to its pre-1917 frontiers," he charged.

Ukraine possesses 130 strategic SS-19 multiple-warhead missiles, mostly obsolete according to experts, along with 46 modern SS-24 missiles.

Though declaring its long-term intention to become a non-nuclear state, ratifying the START-I treaty on nuclear disarmament signed in July 1991 by the United States and the Soviet Union, it has so far refused to give up the SS-24s.

Ukrainian leaders have said previously that they could obtain the nuclear codes "but had no wish to." [passage omitted]

Earlier, parliamentary foreign affairs spokesman Dmitri Pavlichko said that Sunday's vote showed Russia was "far from being a democracy" and that Ukraine was right in hesitating to give up its nuclear arsenal.

"I hope that after these elections the (international) community will better understand Ukraine's positions with regard to disarmanent." The Russians have "shown their irresponsibility," he commented.

And Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk said he was concerned over the vote by sailors of the Black Sea fleet who voted 19 percent in favour of Zhirinovskiy's party compared with 11.5 percent for Russia's Choice, the party headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and which strongly backs President Boris Yeltsin and his reform program.

"That must push us on to resolving the question of sharing out this fleet between Ukraine and Russia," he said. "The forces who voted for Zhirinovskiy are on our territory." [passage omitted]

Envoy, Party Officials React

LD1412172893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1544 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk December 14 TASS—"The balance of power is not so dangerous: Zhirinovskiy won only 20, rather than 40, per cent of the popular vote," Ukrainian ambassador to Russia Vladimir Krzhizhanovskiy told a news conference here on Tuesday [14 December].

"The stand of the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party is unacceptable for the majority of the Russian intelligentsia, although his populist speeches appealed to those who voted for him," the ambassador said.

"The Democrats failed to sort out the major opponent and let him thrive on his absolutely unsophisticated strategy: To promise (to the voters) anything you like," he noted.

"One should treat the situation in Russia absolutely calmly, because (the Russians) have adopted the constitution which gives immense powers to the president who stands firmly on pro-democratic positions," Krzhizhanovskiy emphasized.

The preliminary results of the elections in Russia did not drive the Ukrainian communists to panic, either. "I believe that the Russian parliament will not allow confrontation between Ukraine and Russia," said Yevgeniy Marmazov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in an interview with the "Novosti" television and radio broadcasting agency on Tuesday.

"Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party (cannot represent) the whole of (Russia's) parliament, it is only a part of it. Besides, the communists will not resort to any of the radical measures proposed by Zhirinovskiy," Marmazov said.

The Ukrainian Party of Justice expressed its concern over the rating of the Liberal Democratic Party citing Zhirinovskiy's pre- election promises to restore Russia's territory within the borders of the former Soviet Union.

Party Official on Elections

LD1412135393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2211 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 13 Dec—Voleslav Heychenko, secretary of the Democratic Party of Ukraine National Council, told an UNIAR correspondent:

"The Democratic Party of Ukraine believes that the victory of the alliance of communists and Zhirinovskiy's followers perhaps will awaken Ukrainian electors and dispel certain illusions about democratic changes in Russia. Russia went no further than Ukraine on the road to market economy, the only difference being that Ukraine continues with centralized distribution of resources, while Russia, according to Gaydar's monopolist policy, pursues centralized distribution of money which it does not have either.

The election results proved false the view that reforms in Russia are moving ahead, that Russia is heading for democracy, and that it leads the way among the republics of the former Soviet Union. Communist power in Russia has not changed. Once it was a means of keeping the Russian empire together. Now, communists have joined forces with overt fascists like Zhirinovskiy. Having won a joint majority in the Federal Assembly, they will pursue a very tight policy in relation to Ukraine. Zhirinovskiy said already that Russia must set up clear borders with the Baltic and Transcarpathian states. Undoubtedly, it means he regards Ukraine as part of Russia's territories.

Press secretary of the Russian president Kostikov announced that the president will cooperate with Zhirinovskiy's party and the communists under certain conditions, and expressed hope that the communists will evolve toward European social democracy.

The Democratic Party of Ukraine believes that this hope is unjustified, because Russian communism is just another form of Russian nationalism and imperialism. The fact that Yeltsin's press secretary made such a declaration will dispel rose-colored expectations that Yeltsin's victory in Russia signifies the strengthening of Russia's commitment to a course toward democracy.

Socialist Leader Comments

LD1512111493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—In the opinion of people's deputy Oleksandr Moroz, leader of Ukraine's Socialist Party [SPU], the "Zhirinovskiy phenomenon is a blow to the reform policy of Russia's president and Yegor Gaydar." The leader of the Ukrainian socialists considers the success of the communists in the Russian elections normal. In his words, the percentage of votes garnered by the communists could in reality be considerably larger if one were to include the votes for the Peasant's Party and the Women's Union, which in Oleksandr Moroz's view, have also been formed on the basis of communist ideology.

"The results of the elections once again confirm that when there is whole scale impoverishment of the people and no stability in the state, people are prepared to throw themselves under any force that promises to establish order and restore calm, stability, and grandeur to the state," stressed Oleksandr Moroz. He believes there is no "equal" to Zhirinovskiy's party in Ukraine. Nevertheless, he sees manifestations of such an orientation in several parties: for example, the right-wing Khmara party [Conservative Republican Party led by Stepan Khmara], the nationalist parties Congress of Ukrainian

Nationalists [KUN] and Ukrainian National Assembly [UNA], as well as left-wing parties that are not officially registered.

Belarus Premier on Constitution Guarantees

LD1412191193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has congratulated Russia's leaders on the adoption of a new constitution.

He told Interfax that "the new Fundamental Law is a guarantee that events in Russia will proceed within a certain framework." Asked what kind of relations the Belarusian cabinet might have with the new Russian parliament he said that governments usually deal with executive authorities.

Commenting on the electoral success of the Liberal Democratic Party in Russia, Kebich said, in particular, that the party's leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was given "very much" TV time.

Parliament Official on Results

LD1412182193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] "We cannot ignore the choice made by Russians. Zhirinovskiy seems to have won an honest fight and this confirms that he has become a factor in Russian politics," Valeriy Tsepkalo, head of parliament's adviser, told Interfax Monday.

He expressed the hope that "the leading Russian statesmen will find a way to mutual respect and compromise."

He thinks that a coalition government could be set up in Russia which would include Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov, Gaydar and other leaders of political movements. "If this does not happen, Zhirinovskiy might win the next presidential elections," Tsepkalo thinks. He predicted that "then the Liberal Democratic Party leader will get down to implementing his plans of restoring the Russian empire."

He is worried whether Zhirinovskiy will do it the way Ivan Kalita (Moscow prince, 14th century) did it, by diplomatic and economic tools or the way Bismarck did it, through iron and bloodshed."

Tsepkalo admitted that neither Belarus nor Ukraine nor Baltic states would be able to stop Russian economic expansion if this was its official line.

Official on Learning Lesson

WS1412130393 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1703 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Belarus will continue to built its relations with Russia on mutually beneficial foundations, regardless of any alignment of forces in the new Russian legislature, stated Ivan Tsyapura, adviser to the chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet, commenting on the results of the Russian legislative elections. However, he emphasized that Belarus' democratic forces should draw conclusions from the events in Russia.

Official on 'Nuclear Weapons'

LD1412221493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Despite the electoral success of Zhirinovskiy's party, the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Belarus to Russia will continue as scheduled, Belarussian First Deputy State Secretary for National Security Valeriy Pavlov told Interfax. He said that President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian government who, by the Constitution, would remain in power for two more years, are guarantors of security and honoring international commitments. "I have full faith in Chernomyrdin, an exceptionally intelligent pragmatist, a strategist who will not allow any oscillations in this vitally important issue," Pavlov emphasized. "Even if the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia will take control of the State Duma, the present government of Russia will not allow anyone to trifle with the nuclear button," he said. He thought that formation of a coalition government with Zhirinovskiy's and Zyuganov's parties was not very probable. "If this is done, what we will see will be inaction and mutual accusations. The reforms would get off course but even in this case the nuclear arsenals would be safely in the hands of President Yeltsin and Premier Chernomyrdin," Pavlov is convinced.

Moldova's Snegur 'Surprised' at Election Results

LD1412175493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya—TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 14 TASS—"The results of recent Russian elections, although so far preliminary, set Russia and other states thinking," Moldovan President Mircea Snegur told a news conference here today.

The news conference held jointly with the Ukrainian president dwelt on results of Snegur's Ukrainian visit.

The Moldovan president was surprised with the election results. "It is a signal for all democratic forces, including the ones of Moldova. Any turn is possible in the domestic policy when something is underestimated, which is proved by the Russian elections. Russian developments have shown the president and the authorities have no right to lose control over the situation," he noted.

Warns of Changes in Russian Attitudes

LD1412182593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] If Zhirinovskiy's Party of Liberal Democrats [LDPR] wins most of the seats in the new parliament, there may be a change in Russia's attitude to other CIS states, President Mircea Snegur said in Kiev on Monday [13 December], where he was on an official visit.

In his election speeches, Zhirinovskiy had no definition for Moldova other than a Russian province, appointing the commander of Russia's 14th army deployed in Tiraspol as governor general of Moldova, Snegur said.

Whatever the results of Russia's general election, this must be seen as its own affair, presidential spokesman Dumitru Tsyra quoted the President as saying. Moreover, what has so far emerged should be seen as unofficial results, Snegur said.

The LDPR's success in Russia's general elections should alert the world public, Deputy Parliamentary Chairman Viktor Puscasu told INTERFAX. In his words, Zhirinovskiy's electoral pledges may lead to dire implications.

Puscasu fears that the LDPR's policy may strain Russia's relations with newly-independent states of the former Soviet Union whose independence is dismissed by Zhirinovskiy and his supporters. At the same time, he hopes that the worst forecasts about the make up of a new Russian parliament may not come true.

Kazakh Official Says Results 'Cannot Encourage'

LD1412203093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The preliminary results of the parliamentary elections in Russia cannot encourage. This was said by Kazakh State Counselor, Deputy Chairman of the Kazakh Security Council, Tulegen Zhukeyev in Almaty on Tuesday. In his words, "The victory achieved by advocates of ideology which does not recognize international law and sovereignty of the new independent states can only let down."

However, Zhukeyev pointed out that this was "Russia's domestic affair and choice of Russian people must be taken into account."

In his opinion, many statements made by Leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy during the intense election campaign cannot be carried out in practice. "Nobody will hand over independence and sovereignty. Those who reject these values just bluff," he emphasized.

However, the most important point is that the Russian constitution was adopted, Zhukeyev pointed out. "Russians made their choice in spite of the divided opinions on it expressed by different sections of the population."

Kyrgyzstan's Akayev Sees Results as 'Normal'

LD1512084493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0823 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek December 15 Tass—"Elections are the mirror reflection of the real alignment of political forces in Russia. I consider it as normal," President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev said, commenting on the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly of Russia.

Turkmenistan President Views Results

LD1412183893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1818 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat December 14 TASS—"I congratulate Russian citizens with the adoption of a new Constitution. One cannot lay a course with the use of an old map and it is hard to progress without a new fundamental law," Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov told ITAR-TASS.

"Turkmenistan considers the elections to be an internal affair of the fraternal state. We respect the choice made by the Russian people.

"When Turkmenistan and Russia turned independent, their relations became closer. The sides manage to settle all aspects of bilateral cooperation - military, border, trade, economic and humanitarian," noted Niyazov.

Being the supreme official of the sovereign state, which maintains diplomatic relations with some 90 countries, Niyazov does not think it possible to give personal characteristics of events or people from another sovereign state. "It is inadmissible from the point of view of international norms," added the Turkmen president.

Congratulates Yeltsin

LD1412190093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1623 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat December 14 TASS—Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov congratulated his Russian counterpart Boris Yeltsin with the adoption of a new Russian Constitution and democratic elections of the State Duma over the telephone today.

The presidents exchanged opinion on the upcoming Commonwealth summit in Ashgabat and a Turkmen visit of the Russian president scheduled for late December.

Georgia's Shevardnadze on Constitution

AU1512102993 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, Dec 15 (AFP)—The adoption of Russia's new constitution, giving President Boris Yeltsin extensive powers, was a "guarantee of stability" for the strife-torn Caucasus, Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Speaking here late Tuesday to some journalists covering the visit of France's Humanitarian Action Minister Lucette Michaux-Chevry, Shevardnadze remarked that many things in Georgia depended on what happened in Russia. Georgia had taken decisive steps towards renewing ties with Russia, including membership of the Commonwealth of Independent States, successor to the Soviet Union, he noted.

Shevardnadze denied making concessions as the price of Russian backing against rebels fighting for his ousted predecessor Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He said the continued presence in Georgia of some 20,000 Russian troops was still useful. They are stationed along the strategic railway line crossing the country to the Black Sea port of Poti. Shevardnadze said their deployment might be discussed at the next CIS summit in a week's time.

He said he believed in a peaceful settlement with the separatists in Abkhazia in north-west Georgia, who inflicted a severe defeat on Georgian forces at the end of November. "Otherwise, Georgia will fight with its bare hands to recover its territory," he warned, forecasting "a massacre."

Under an agreement signed in Geneva early this month after 14 months of war, some 250,000 Georgian refugees are set to return to Abkhazia, a move which Shevardnadze said was his country's current most important problem.

Estonian Official Airs Views on Outcome

LD1412231193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1937 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The chairman of the Estonian parliamentary commission for external affairs, Vello Saatpalu, told a press conference in the Tallinn airport that "it would be the best option for Estonia if Zhirinovskiy ventured to change the government right now." Saatpalu visited Russia as an observer from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly to supervise holding the December 12 elections. He said the winners, including the Liberal Democratic Party, Communist Party and Agrarian Party, would use the majority in parliament for pressing the existing government instead of creating a new one. In this case, the negotiations with Russia will be unlikely to turn out successful. In addition, such tactics guaranteed a convincing victory for the nationalists at the next parliamentary elections in 1996 since the existing government is unable to prevent the country from falling into abyss. If Zhirinovskiy "makes the mistake" of creating a new government, democrats will be the most likely to win the next elections in two years, Saatpalu said.

Latvian Radio Commentary on Effect of Elections

LD1412234593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Commentary by Talivaldis Trams]

[Text] The Russian elections results have, I think, caused a sense of shock not only among Russian democrats. One must recall that up until the elections, all the prognoses in fact unanimously thought the leaders would be the Russia's Choice electoral bloc. However, the lack of desire to organize a united electoral coalition, as well as the inability to formulate their goals precisely and comprehensibly to the people, had its own effect.

The elections were won by the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] led by Zhirinovskiy, which would be better called partly national- patriotic, partly fascistic. For the Baltic countries, the victory of the LDPR does not bode anything good at all. We must remember Zhirinovskiy's recent announcements, that in the event that the Baltics do not agree with Russia on the question of human rights, then Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania will be destroyed within a few months merely by economic methods alone. Besides, the promise of the LDPR to restore the Russian Empire within the 20th Century gained great support from the voters. The democratic forces only received any serious support in Moscow and its environs.

Elections took place in the Baltic countries too, where a considerable number of Russian citizens live. As is known, polling stations in Latvia were opened in Riga, at the Jekabs Alksnis Military Aviation College, and in Daugavpils. Unfortunately, the results of the elections in Latvia and Estonia make you take notice. If in the case of Russia, the popularity of Zhirinovskiy's party and the Communists was greatest in the economically poorest regions, then a similar situation is observed here, too. According to BNS [Baltic News Service], out of the Russian citizens living in Estonia, 47.66 percent of voters gave their vote to the LDP. Second place, with (?20.17) percent, went to the Communists. There is no such precise information about Latvia, because the Russian embassy, which organized the elections here, is so far declining to announce the results. Yet to judge from a poll of voters, throughout Latvia among the Russian citizens the biggest sympathies went to the LDP. Considering the fact that the majority of voters are older people, the result might be due to nostalgia for the old days. But on the other hand, this fact testifies that there is something wrong in the Russian-speakers situation.

We cannot close our eyes to this problem, or even claim that all Russian-speakers are Communists.

According to provisional data, 33 percent of those in Latvia are noncitizens—that is one-third of the total population. That is a huge mass of inhabitants who feel uncertainty, and thereby will bring about instability to the state as a whole. The government's delay in addressing this problem is not improving the situation at all. The current situation in Russia is not yet openly upsetting. As a result of the elections, the quite democratic new Russian Constitution has been adopted, providing strict legislative powers, and separating the parliament from the executive power. The parliament can indeed propose changes to the Constitution, but only in the event that a two-thirds majority vote adopts them. Zhirinovskiy does not yet have that power. The victory of the LDPR might lead to the organizing of the democratic forces, to give a counterweight to the national-patriotic and Communist forces in Russia. Even the former radicals themselves, having got into parliament and being forced to take specific action, might become noticeably more moderate. What kind of changes take place in Russia's internal and foreign policy will be shown in the near future.

Lithuania's Brazauskas on Russian Reform

LD1412202893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas has sent a telegram to Russian President Yeltsin where he congratulated him and Russian citizens on the adoption of the new Constitution.

In a radio interview Tuesday he said that the adoption of the constitution was a step towards strengthening democracy, a firm basis and guarantee that Russia will not deviate from the road of democratic reforms.

Speaking about the results of the elections he said that the firm positions of the extreme left political forces in Russia made him follow closely the developments in the country. Brazauskas said he hoped that the Russian Parliament would be able to create a broad democratic coalition, while the relations between Lithuania and Russia would still be based on the principles of friendship and mutual benefit.

The speaker of the Lithuanian Parliament Ceslovas Jursenas has described the approval of the new Constitution as an important result of the voting in Russia on December 12. Addressing a news conference Monday, he said that since the draft Constitution was approved one power branch with broad powers is clear and this is the basis of stability of Russia and predictability of its policy. Since we know that the Constitution has been approved, who the president is and what his policies are with all their pros and cons, our prospects are also clear, said Jursenas.

The chairman off the parliamentary committee for foreign policy affairs Kazis Bobalis believes that nothing odd has happened in Russia. However, the results of the elections in Russia will help Lithuanian politicians to decide on the problem of integration with the West. Bobalis has spoken against hasty statements by political parties on the parliamentary elections because the final results are not yet known.

Social Democrats Worried

WS1512094593 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 2020 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 394]

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 14, ELTA—Possible failure of democratic forces in Russia's parliamentary elections may cause real danger to the political independence of the Baltic states, especially of Latvia and Estonia, chairman of Social-Democratic party Aloyzas Sakalas told a news conference on Tuesday [14 December].

In the presence of the danger, the social-democrats offered all Lithuanian political parties to solve foreign policy problems together. The first task should be leaving the unsafe Eastern and Central European zone for safer West. This could be possible only after joining NATO, they said.

Although NATO states themselves have not determined future of the alliance, Lithuania, nevertheless, must express its clear stand on its joining NATO. The President or Seimas [parliament] should officially announce that, the social-democrats said.

Russia cannot be a member of NATO together with other democratic countries first of all because of its military doctrine which is in principle aimed against the neighbouring states, they said. Lithuanian foreign minister should also express Lithuania's opinion concerning the doctrine.

Good relations with Belarus and Poland could also help improve Lithuania's security. Social-democrat MP [member of parliament] Vytautas Pleckaitis regretted the relations were not intensive and there were no permanent links among the top officials of these states.

Social Democrats Urge Joining NATO

LD1412191393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The possible defeat of the democratic forces in the Russian parliamentary elections creates conditions for a real threat to the political independence of the Baltic states, especially of Latvia and Estonia. This was stated at a news conference by Social Democratic Party Chairman Aloyzas Sakalas.

In view of this danger, the Social Democrats propose that all Lithuanian political parties solve foreign policy issues together. The primary task of this policy should be the transition from the eastn and central European zone to the safety of the West. This can be done only by joining NATO. Although the NATO countries themselves have not finally decided the future of this organization, this does not mean that there is no need for Lithuania to state its clear policy on joining NATO. This, in the opinion of the social democrats, should be officially stated by the republic's president or the Seimas. Russia cannot belong to NATO together with other democratic states, above all, because of its military doctrine which is essentially aimed at neighboring states, the Social Democrats claim. They say that the Lithuanian foreign minister, too, must officially declare Lithuania's stand regarding this doctrine.

In the opinion of the Social Democrats, it is essential to substantially strengthen controls on Lithuania's eastern border. This, among other things, would help to liberalize customs between the Baltic states, because Latvia and Estonia have been complaining about the penetration of goods from the east to their market through the territory of Lithuania.

Media Analysis, Commentary

Yeltsin's Future Options Pondered

MK1412094093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report in the "Elections" column: "Russia's Choice's Defeat Is Not as yet a Defeat for Democracy. This Must Be Understood Primarily by the President and Russia's Choice Itself"]

[Text] Regardless of the official preliminary returns of elections in the federal-wide constituency, their general trend is fairly clear. For instance, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent has received information from nine single-seat constituencies in the Far East indicating that Russia's Choice and the Liberal Democratic Party are tied for first, and are followed by the Russian Federation Communist Party and the Yavlinskiy bloc. Apparently, the other election associations did not have a strong showing in these nine constituencies, perhaps with the exception of the Democratic Party of Russia. According to sources in the Central Election Commission, it is practically certain that Cedar, Dignity and Charity, Civic Union, and Future of Russia-New Names have failed to clear the 5-percent barrier. The position of the Russian Party of Unity and Accord [PRUA], the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement, the Agrarian Party, and the Women of Russia is so far obscure, although sources say that the Far East constituencies are not indicative.

Beginning Sunday evening leaders of the "democratic blocs," and especially of Russia's Choice, started talking about Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's victory, and he, too, acted accordingly. The democrats themselves, who did not unite their efforts in time, as well as Ostankino chairman Vyacheslav Bragin, seen locked in a handshake with Zhirinovskiy, are guilty of bringing about what they feared the most but still hoped to avoid. Incidentally, on the issue of the "democrats" forming an association, a Russia's Choice leader told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that his bloc's coalition with the Yavlinskiy bloc could still take place. Asked how Gaydar and Yavlinskiy could possibly work together, the representative said that the Yabloko faction would probably have to replace its chairman with, for example, Vladimir Lukin.

Even so, it appears that the main preliminary outcome of the elections is not "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's victory" and, correspondingly, "a Russia's Choice defeat" but that the ruling class has in this case been affected by "its success in the April referendum," that is to say, a double-edged weapon effect has been demonstrated. After the April ballot the "democrats" created a myth about their and therefore Boris Yeltsin's victory, and immediately believed this myth themselves. But at that time, the choice was between the president and the Congress, that is, as the saying goes, between the mediocre and the bad. And the elector had not just to choose his favorite, but believe in him—and, incidentally, the referendum questions were all about confidence. On 12 December Russia's citizens were given an opportunity to choose from a somewhat wider spectrum and they made their choice traditionally, believing the one who had promised to rid them of the burden of worrying about organizing their own life.

Therefore, it has once again been shown that a few years of stormy reforms—political and economic—have not changed the Russians' affection for self-confident leaders promising quick changes without great difficulties. Some time in the past this characteristic was well used by Boris Yeltsin, and now Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's turn has come.

One final point. Now that it is practically clear that the constitution has been adopted, Boris Yeltsin must ask himself why he needs such a State Duma, which will probably soon have to be dissolved—even government and presidential administration representatives are talking about the first places being occupied by the Liberal Democratic Party and the Russian Federation Communist Party. Dissolving parliament with the periodicity of the seasons is going a bit too far, however, even for the intrinsically democracy-minded Russian president. Therefore there are growing rumors about a plan by certain analysts within Russia's Choice: to identify major violations and annul the results of the 12 December voting.

Urged To Stay Until 1996

PM1412115093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Lessons of the December Elections"]

[Text] The paradox of the situation that has arisen in the country after 12 December is that the fruits of the victory of democracy, manifested in the adoption of the new Constitution and in the opportunity which every citizen of Russia has gained to express his will through elections, could be enjoyed by forces that constitute a threat to the fate of democracy itself. The danger of the communo-Zhirinization of society lies in the underdeveloped state of its political culture, in people's desire to avoid complications and seek simple solutions, and in the readiness to take up vigorous slogans of the socialist type rather than the abstract macroeconomic formulas of the market ideologists. The reforms need slogans, which translate the lofty goals of transformation into the language of every person's vital interests.

By voting for the constitution and a presidential republic, the people of Russia have once again reaffirmed their confidence in Boris Yeltsin, the president elected by the whole people, and have expressed support for the course of reforms. These results confirm eloquently that people see the president as the guarantor of the irreversibility of the transformation, the guarantor of stability in the country and civil accord in society. Only a strong president can achieve stability and accord, given the complex distribution of forces that is emerging in the new parliament. And this is therefore no time to recall the compromise with the former Supreme Soviet on presidential elections in June 1994. Boris Yeltsin, whose powers have now been confirmed by the people three times, should stay in his post until 1996, in the interests of the reforms and civil peace.

The most serious and painful blow to the young democracy was actually struck, sadly enough, by those politicians who consider themselves democrats. Professing the primitive slogan "Hit your own people to make them afraid," these "democrats," gripped by ambition and lust for a power which they were unwilling to share even with their own colleagues and aligning themselves with the conservative section of the apparatus, set up all kinds of instant mini-"parties," conceitedly miscalculating totally their chances of survival. These so-called "parties," having no social base or clear programs, were basically groupings of lobbyists expressing not the feelings of this or that sector of the population, but only their own interests and claims to power. They failed, like any artificial, invented entity.

The election results confirmed once again that ideology still actively influences the state of society and its values. In the context of the absence of a state ideology, communist morality still has roots. The ideology of fascism is even beginning to put up shoots. The vacuum that has formed is being filled by this fulminating communist-fascist mixture. To prevent a social explosion, society needs a state ideology, a system of objectives and values, simple truths that everyone can understand. Power, in the shape of the state, must learn to conduct dialogue with the people not through the press services, but directly; it must learn a language that ordinary people can understand. And the cutting edge of political dialogue must be felt not only at the center, but in every region of the country.

There is no alternative to the country's reformist course. But there is a danger of the propaganda of pseudotransformations playing a part. False ideas of society's development may find there a favorable milieu for proliferation by virtue of the fact that when the former soviet system was smashed to smithereens, all kinds of social notions that had until then been deeply buried were let loose. Sweet words, which fall so lavishly from the lips of those who claim the role of the people's guides, home in rapidly on people who have temporarily lost their social orientation. Thus people's natural desire for a clear and simple intercourse with the authorities may be supplanted by the grandiloquent monologues of great leaders. The revival of totalitarian parties in Russia could begin with attempts to manipulate public opinion.

The election results showed that the country needs a new type of politician and statesman. People who do not accept elitism and scholasticism, who reject the falsehoods of the self-styled top "leaders," who do not accept those who pin lethal labels on their opponents while gracing themselves with the title of "great transformer," basically fail to find a moral alternative to them and therefore fall into the power of the populist promises of cunning manipulators of the social consciousness. The true motive force that leads a politician to power should be not his vainglorious desire to nurture the "baby president" or "baby prime minister" within himself, but a profound knowledge of the specific nature of the Russian mentality, consideration for the social expectations of all strata of the population, and reliance on a specific social base.

Results Show Diminishing Trust

PM1412103593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Viktor Trushkov and Boris Slavin: "Now Unplanned Shock"]

[Text] For the first two hours the "dance" went exactly according to the scenario. First, the country was informed of the results of the vote on the party lists in Maritime Kray. Then, less than one and one half hours after the closure of the final polling places (surprising promptness!) V. Kostikov, the president's press secretary, announced that "the new constitution has been adopted." After another 15 minutes Vice Prime Minister V. Shumeyko congratulated the Russians on the adoption of the Constitution, proudly informing them that he had the exact figures for the electorate's votes. Soon the results of the vote appeared for several East Siberian and Far Eastern districts and...an information dead season ensued.

In the middle of the night the well-known satirist Ark. Arkanov commented on what had happened: "They invited the guests to a birthday party but the birthday boy has died... That was the unconstrained atmosphere in which this party took place." It looks as though there were several corpses at once.

First of all, the first Russian experiment in providing prompt information to the population about the voting results died before it was born. There are serious reasons for this fatal outcome. There was no triumphal procession across Russia's expanses for the new constitution. In some regions the required 50 percent of voters did not turn out to vote, in others they had to try to scrape up the ballot papers necessary "for a quorum." It is not out of the question that they did scrape them together. If you believe the preliminary figures it looks as though up to 35 million voters voted for Yeltsin's draft. So trust in the present president has declined yet again. At his election his support was equal to 46 million, at the April referendum it was 40 million and now his trust rating has dried up some more.

But prompt information also ended soon because of the shock suffered by the well-known shock therapists. They were dealt three blows simultaneously ("shock" is "blow" in Russian). First, their dream of a staggering victory for "Russia's Choice" did not come true. Second, the Communist Party achieved substantial success. Third, the upsurge in the Liberal Democratic Party was unexpected for the "democrats." It looks as though V. Zhirinovskiy himself did not count on the success which overwhelmed him: Hoping for 8 million votes he gained 100-150 percent more. Was that fortuitous?

The shocked "democrats" brought about this sensation themselves. And not only because the ambitions and claims of the politicians from their ranks turned the united democratic fist into a hand with all five fingers extended—taken together they got their own way at these elections. Moreover, they are hardly upset that the wave of anticommunist moved several tens of thousands of votes from the Russian Federation Communist Party to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. Vladimir Volfovich is closer to them and the addition thus gained to his "long-standing support" is very slight.

But even that is not all. The powers that be even during the election campaign—possibly failing not only to reckon as far as checkmate but even as far as the inevitable check, ensured V. Zhirinovskiy the support of additional millions of voters. You recall how the Central Electoral Commission—fairly?—deprived the Russian National Union, the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Movement, and other patriotic electoral associations and blocs of the right to take part in the elections for the general federal district? Their votes went to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

So if there have been dead birthday boys there is also a newborn birthday boy. Although an unattractive one in every respect.

As a whole the new parliament in terms of its political coloring will be reminiscent of the one which was fired on by tanks 4 October—"democrats," the opposition, and the "wandering center." And in the middle will be Zhirinovskiy's falcons—the flank to which they lend their support will get its draft law through.

Papers View Reasons for Zhirinovskiy's Success

'Everybody' To Blame

MK1412140093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 14 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Mikhail Gurevich: "A Nasty Joke. Fascism Enters Parliament on the Democrats' Backs"]

[Text] Why are you actually surprised that a certain part of the Russian people, which appeared to be the most chauvinistically minded, voted for a farcical half-Jew beaten at rallies and concerts? So what, the tall, slender, blonde Germans elected a dark-haired, short Austrian with a sick stomach and Chaplin-style moustache as their fuehrer.

Why are you surprised that a certain segment of the wise Russian population was willing to buy pledges that cannot be fulfilled, to buy downright populism? Well, what else could you have expected from a people who had long been corrupted first by the Tatar yoke, then by serfdom, then again by the Bolsheviks' egalitarianism? From people who have long forgotten how to work hard, from a country where all conceivable games and lotteries are the favorite telecasts. Just guess a letter, spit on the right spot, and you'll make a million. Put a cross against a shrewd, slick talker—what if a bottle and some snack fall out of the blue, why not?

This is how democracy looks. Now the worst part of society—from whom one should hide forks, let alone ballot slips—will have their representatives in a democratically elected parliament.

Who is to blame? Everybody. The journalists are to blame. They eagerly reported every step of the funny jester and attended his "luncheons with the press." Also to blame is this apology for the liberals: "Each rogue has the right to speak up!" "Yeltsin muzzles the press and hides dead bodies!" "We, at the 'Press Club,' have a fireside atmosphere, we do not call murderers names!" The murderers will pay you back for it by turning the fireside atmosphere into that of a prison.

The former Russian deputies are to blame. In 1991, when Khasbulatov was hurling insults, but not yet at Yeltsin—"Vladimir Volfovich, take it easy, you'd rather drink some vodka"—it was to their disgusting grins that the leader of the fictitious LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] of the USSR, with his fabricated signature, was allowed to register as candidate for the post of Russian president. Yeltsin himself is to blame for inviting Zhirinovskiy to the Constitutional Conference, showing that a skid-row scoundrel and Saddam Husayn's crony may be allowed to join decent company.

There you go again—inflicting punishment on yourselves, and the most dreadful punishment at that: Fascism has arrived in a democratic fashion. Fascism has come not in the person of Baburin or Nevzorov, but in the most caricature-like, abominable form. The man whom many people would not take seriously as early as a few hours ago has already had time to announce his claims to the government.

What is to be done? Maybe I am a chronic optimist, but I do not think that what has occurred is an irremediable disaster. First, all of this fuss, all of these oohs and aahs, have so far concerned only party lists, on which only half of the Federal Assembly's lower chamber was elected. Once all votes are counted, it is a likely possibility that "Russia's Choice" and other democrats will get additional reinforcement. Second, happily, the draft constitution was approved, a constitution whereby, as some of its opponents rightly claimed, the parliament does not wield any significant clout and the president may dissolve it whenever the president's left heel so wishes (although not earlier than in a year).

It is another matter that the Zhirinovites also voted for this constitution so that their chief could use it after some time as president.

Some people are now saying: Zhirinovskiy is as lively as mercury, that he keeps changing his views with inconceivable easiness. He may scold Yeltsin the night before only to wake up his staunch ally in the morning and humbly seek an audience with him. Yes, Vladimir Volfovich indeed has a penchant for risky U-turns. The fact is, however, that he "supported" the president yesterday, when he was seen as a political pariah, whereas today he has one of the largest factions in parliament. Furthermore, he in fact backed only himself, not Yeltsin, of course.

And who backs him? Millions do. But how many of them are going to fight under Volfovich's banner, for instance to retake Finland? Calculating earnings from trading arms on the black market is one thing, but risking one's life is something completely different. Everyone remembers Afghanistan. With Finland, we have also tried to make war during this century, without success. For all the drawbacks of the Soviet and Russian Armies, Zhirinovskiy's army will hardly be any better.

By the way, about the army. According to preliminary reports, the LDP is the front-runner in many military units of the Tamanskaya Division visited by Yeltsin. Why is he the front-runner and is he a front-runner at all has yet to be determined. But we should find out right now who arranged it in such a way that the voting results in closed districts were the first to have been made public. Who is already trying to intimidate us?

And why is it that some part of the army stands for Zhirinovskiy? Let us recall his speeches: "No Georgian plane will take off to shoot down a Russian one!" Who will say that the contrary should be the case? Yegor Gaydar, however (like other democratic leaders), would not say anything like this—because of his upbringing, convictions, and common sense. (Gaydar said something else—he described the situation by the words that I made the article's headline.) I wish he would.

The strength and weakness of Zhirinovskiy's party is that it is a one-man party (as are the blocs of Yavlinskiy and Shakhray, whom the LDP should thank profusely for having diverted votes from the democrats, and successfully so). The thing is, as Bulgakov said, a man may become "suddenly mortal." What will befall the party after its chief's departure? Who will come to lead it and where will he lead it?

The democratic intelligentsia are themselves to blame that they will now have to assimilate the mysteries of scientific populism in a rough-and-ready fashion. They will have to. Moreover, I am sure that an antidote against Zhirinovskiys will be invented pretty soon.

As for the time being... The staff of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS sends its words of gratitude to you, Vladimir Volfovich. With Rutskoy and Khasbulatov gone, whom could we write about? Obviously, not about Volskiy. And you, dear, will not let us die of hunger. Our artist, Aleksey Merinov, has a specific request for you: please, send him several of your photos—for the convenience of portraying you. We could pay the expenses, for they say that your spectacular television campaigning was done on credit: Imagine that, Zhirinovskiy did not even pay for his victory; lucky dog. But we are not fools, either, I hope.

Center-Regions Gulf Widens

MK1412132093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Vitaliy Portnikov: "Unitary Russia Will Be Represented in Parliament, Not Simply by Supporters, but by a Party of War"]

[Text] While unexpected for the democrats, the easily predictable success for the party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in the parliamentary elections is not just a threat to economic reform in Russia or democratic change in the country. First and foremost, the appearance in a new parliament of a militant group that is unfamiliar with the norms of the political game, that is ready to push the idea of a unitary state despite the historical and political reality, is a blow at this very state. A blow formally cushioned by the passing in the referendum of a new Russian constitution that confirms, as it were, the status quo of the national-territorial entities existing on Russia's territory, but which is nevertheless dangerous and harbors rather real dangerous consequences. To blow up civil peace in the country, to worsen the already complex interethnic relations and to launch a struggle against the specter of "separatism," which is ready to flare up if treated carelessly, is far simpler than to lower prices and give back the long-awaited economic calm to the weary population.

Zhirinovskiy's success has demonstrated that the idea of unitary Russia has many supporters in the oblasts and krays, that it has further widened the political gulf between the administrative entities and republic-components of the Russian Federation, which have proven that their populations have different political priorities. This success is not only due to Vladimir Volfovich's TV image, much as the opponents of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia's [LDPR] leader would like to think. It is also due to those dizzy from the euphoria of the speedy end of the October events who launched a sudden and dangerous attack on regionalism under slogans not dissimilar to Zhirinovskiy's: For a single and indivisible Russia. This is precisely what Mikhail Poltoranin, a Russia's Choice leader and the president's comrade, was saying in the last days of the election campaign on the airwaves of Petersburg TV... Almost concurrently, Vladimir Volfovich was promising on all airwaves to make all troublemakers toe the line.

The preliminary results of the voting already show that regional elites remain the Kremlin's only real support in combating the rising anarchy and a "liberal-Democracy" offensive. The success of such politicians as Viktor Stepanov, Eduard Rossel, or Murtaza Rakhimov, who did not always agree with the president in everything but who respect the civilized rules of the game, is supposed to demonstrate to the Kremlin how ruinous was the line of no compromise with forces able to maintain stability in the regions under whatever slogans—territorial and ethnic rather than fascist. When Sergey Filatov, presidential chief of staff, began a well-coordinated and happily ended campaign to exclude the sovereignty provision from the Federation Treaty and the new constitution, when the authorities were preparing to remove Eduard Rossel, who has now been elected to the Federation Council, when—a few days before the elections—they were going to issue a special statement against the misbehaving leaders of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and Tuva, they should have thought whether they were increasing their own powers or the stakes of such people as Zhirinovskiy. When they tried to snatch the initiative from the LDPR leader in protecting the Russian-speaking population in Russia's Republics or in the "near abroad," did they really believe that the wolf's skin hastily draped on could look more attractive to a chauvinist electorate than the long-tried and tested mask of the "Liberal-Democratic" leader.

Zhirinovskiy alone may think he is his own creation. He was also created by the democrats, who did not base the whole electoral campaign on arguing with the nascent fascism, but on a dialogue with dying communism led today by the second or third echelon of the party nomenklatura who are not ready for battles or pogroms. Zhirinovskiy also got more points by cutting off from the election struggle traditional national-patriotic forces that would hardly have joined up with Vladimir Volfovich but that would have clearly snatched votes from him rather than from the democrats.

Zhirinovskiy now has every chance to proclaim his ideas in parliament. He will not be Russia's second president no matter how hard the still unknown men who accompanied him on his walks, the country's new parliamentarians, hope. Just because there cannot be Zhirinovskiy's Russia: Leaders like him can materialize in ethnically uniform weakened states—think of prewar Germany or Italy.... A multinational country may very well disintegrate faced with a threat of a lumpen-offensive under chauvinist slogans. Zhirinovskiy wants to and can be a catalyst of this crumbling, but so far is being held back by President Yeltsin's able tactics of looking for compromise with Russia's republics and regions. Despite the LDPR's success, the authorities should go back to looking for such a compromise.

Government's 'Vacillations' Responsible

PM1412121593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Nikolay Dolgopolov article under general headline "Monday 13 December—Gloomy Morning in Russia" and the rubric "View From the Sixth Floor": "Zhirinovskiy's Arrival Unexpected?"]

[Text] The date 12 December, not the most glorious in the fatherland's history, has one merit. On that Sunday it was proven once again that Russia always has been, and remains, painfully unpredictable. Although it is not only the sociologists and forecasters—most obliging but way off the mark—who should hand in their resignation, but also the leaders of the losing democrats. Zhirinovskiy's success is so stunning it knocks you over. Like a proper knockout, the victory of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia can be explained, interpreted, and presented. But the only thing is, it cannot be changed. It is already too late!

And let us not deceive one another by consoling ourselves with the fact that there is no point dramatizing the situation and that it will all work out somehow. The hell it will. Why should it, if it did not when the president, first of all peacefully and then by no means peacefully, was fighting against a far more moderate and, forgive me, a far more controllable and obedient parliament?

Everything was done to enable Zhirinovskiy to win. All of the mistakes that might have been made were made with all democratic deftness. The unpopular economic measures were adopted with heads held proudly high. The concept of "flexibility" disappeared, remaining only in the palace vestibules, before a government that had lost its way in its own good intentions. The political vacillations reached such shattering proportions that it seemed that the pendulum itself was on the point of flying beyond the perplexed Kremlin walls. What, for example, was the worth of Boris Nikolayevich's statements that he would, and then that he definitely would not, run for the presidential post 12 June. It is sickening just to speak of the tragic events of 3-4 October and the most stupid and useless confrontation that preceded them.

However, even this was nothing. The failed election campaign triumphantly organized by a society of commandos painfully sure of themselves sang the praises of its own "Choice." Forgetting that, for the first time in history, it was not at all obliged to coincide with the free expression of the people's will. Wise and talented democratic minds explained who was finer—Gaydar, or Yavlinskiy with Boldyrev and Lukin, or else Travkin with his associates who were picking fault with everything.... But Zhirinovskiy turned out to be the finest. The people, worn out and exhausted by tedious poverty, were pushed into the embraces of his party by the democratic radicals themselves. Vladimir Volfovich, to give him his due, did not step on any toes, showing himself to be a sympathetic and comprehensible populist. People laughed at him condescendingly, almost going as far as patting him on his narrow back, in exactly the same way that at the beginning of the 1930's people laughed condescendingly at another little man who was soon to turn Germany upside down—and almost did the same to the rest of the world. For the sake of the planet's salvation the embrasures of enemy gun emplacements were covered by the bodies of nameless Russian servicemen who were the saviors of the world.

But will we save ourselves?! Particularly since God has nevertheless helped us, and the new Constitution—albeit with difficulty and amid struggle—has nevertheless been adopted. Maybe it will serve as a guarantor of relative peace for a few months. Although Yegor Gaydar, the leader of the second bloc, which was a relative winner, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent: "We are hardly prepared to collaborate with fascists," hopes of some kind of coexistence remain. A few months of icy relative peace, but by spring the natural world will thaw, souls will darken, and.... then no "Alfa" or "Vityaz" will hold out.

But let us wish the people, the president, and the parliament peace and flexibility in getting used to each other. Although it seems to me that we have already wished ourselves all we could have wished ourselves. Thank you!

'Democrats' Russophobia' Blamed

PM1412111593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Viktorov: "Shadow-Chasing Has Begun"]

[Text] And so everything has already been said to the clinking of glasses. At the celebration of the "Political New Year" in the Kremlin, which ended in great embarrassment, our democratic elite loudly announced: The country could be in the terrible embrace of Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy.

The leader of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] has already been made an armband with a swastika: Look, Russia, people are saying, at who your victor is today. Yet only recently, when he was decorously sitting in the Constitutional Conference, none of the night criers now writhing about in hysterics called him a fascist. Now they are permitted everything—even comparing Zhirinovskiy with Hitler.

In accusing each other of strategic and tactical blunders, which opened the way to the LDPR's success, respectable democrats are not missing an opportunity sternly to reproaching the Russian people: Look who you have brought to the front of the stage. And cries of "Shame! Shame!" can already be heard.

But just think, gentlemen: Were you not the ones who nurtured this charismatic leader? The LDPR's sensational result at the elections to the Federal Assembly was in fact programed by the senseless policy which has been pursued in Russia in recent years.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy rose to a height unattainable to many of his rivals primarily because executive power and its information propagandist service personnel strenuously, importunately, and deliberately fueled Russophobia.

And the voter responded to the democrats' Russophobia by supporting the man who most loudly demanded and, let us note, demanded constantly and consistently, that the Russian man be defended. Not the most ideal defender, I admit.

I do not rule out that the journalist Yuriy Karyakin was sincere when he exclaimed in the Kremlin Palace during the night-time political show: "Russia, think again, you have become dim-witted!" But Russia was pushed toward the result, which occurred by people who think like this journalist, by the officials who have forgotten about the prosperity of the millions of people living in the provinces and about our unfortunate refugees.

Yes, different approaches to the "Russian question" divide the "liberal" and "pure" democrats. But in their common anticommunism they display remarkable unity.

And this is not the first time we have heard of the fascism, which allegedly threatens our country from within. Even before August 1991 we read: "The democrats should not flirt with the workers' movement from which either a new bolshevism or a new fascism will flare up." Official propaganda persistently instilled in Russian citizens' consciousness the myth of "communofascism," while the most frenzied among them went so far as to claim that the bacillus of nazism had long been nestling in the "body" of the Russian people.

A swastika armband is now being attached to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's jacket. Who is next?

Support From Military Noted

MK1512090993 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "The Army Voted No 'Worse' and No 'Better' Than the People. Military Chiefs Intent on Staying Outside Politics"]

[Text] As the results of the 12 December parliamentary elections by party lists are seeping in and panic is spreading in the educated part of Russian society, the army's stance has once again become important and interesting for everyone, just as in the evening hours of Sunday, 3 October, in Moscow. Whom do you side with, masters of tank attacks?

Election results in military units, however, do not actually explain anything. The percentage of Russian servicemen who voted for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party ranges from 43.4 percent in Tajikistan (11.4 percent for the Russian Federation Communist Party and 7.3 percent for "Russia's Choice") to 18 percent in the Black Sea Fleet, which is more or less in line with the breakdown of results in the country as a whole. Obviously, the army voted together with its people, of whom it is actually a more or less accurate cross-section (we mean all of Russia, not only Moscow or St. Petersburg). Reports on the voting in the army, however, are scarce and scanty. Most Russian servicemen have been assigned to open electoral wards, and thus their votes were for the most part mixed with those of civilians.

At the same time, according to entirely reliable official reports from the Defense Ministry, 74 percent of servicemen voted for the new Russian Constitution. Evidently, the Defense Ministry's current policy is to keep from the public, if possible, the data on how the army voted on party lists. The army chiefs are trying to stay out of the political fray, which is actually in line with the Constitution.

It should also be said that there have been no signs of panic among officers, privates, sergeants, generals, and admirals following the publication of the election results. Rather, there is some malicious joy and satisfaction. Too many people in the army were indignant and chagrined at the overly unconditional support for one of the sides during the clashes in Moscow on 3 October and, particularly, at shelling the Supreme Soviet building. On the whole, too much disgruntlement has been accumulated in the armed forces, as in a considerable part of society in general, during the two years of reform. Now, the strong factions of the LDP and the Communist Party will evidently be able to restrain somewhat those whom the army sees as "radical democrats."

Many things in Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's campaign monologues have undoubtedly elicited a favorable reaction from the Russian army's officer corps. Some of his electoral pledges, however (for instance, that students of specialized secondary schools and vocational training schools will no longer be drafted), are absolutely unacceptable for the top military chiefs.

At any rate, the Defense Ministry chiefs will try to forge good, working relations with the new parliament. As long as the political process in Russia remains peaceful and constitutional, no army intervention in politics should be expected. The evident split in society has naturally affected the army, too, but the sympathies and antipathies of the officer corps and the civilian population can by no means evolve into independent violent actions as long as the army obeys its General Staff's orders and, moreover, remains the sole effective military force in the country. The Russia of December 1993 has nothing in common with the Weimar Republic of the early 1930's, because political parties in Russia so far do not have their own mass paramilitary units that are superior to or at least comparable in strength with the regular army. Establishing a totalitarian national-socialist or communist dictatorship without a single-party military force will be impossible. At any rate, there have been no historical precedents to deny this.

Pollster on Lessons of Win

PM1512103993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Yuriy Levada of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions: "Do Not Rush from Illusions to Panic"]

[Text] Our democracy, still naive and dreamy because of its youth, has been taught a stern lesson as a result of the first free elections. In the administrative kingdom, even when it was under the destructive fire of criticism, there were no politics or political struggle in the real sense of these words just as there were no political organizations capable of waging this struggle. For the first time now, political forces have organized themselves not after, but before the elections.

But the main thing is that as a result there has been no "unanimous" (in the spirit of the Soviet democracy of times gone by) parliamentary support for the authorities nor a sensitive intellectual counterweight to them. For the first time, a parliamentary opposition of a new type is coming onto the stage, bearing little resemblance to recent "Khasbulatov" models—this opposition is prepared to exploit people's dissatisfaction directed against the Soviet regime and the present one. Democratic politicians and analysts hoped that the mass protest, grievances, and dissatisfaction would retreat into the usual apathy, into political indifference, into the refusal to vote, into passive complaints against fate, the weather, and the authorities. But it turned out that in the atmosphere of political freedom and profound political crisis all these responses could be gathered together into a single whole and turned into a bulwark of the belligerent opposition. Today, this is primarily the "Zhirinovskiy phenomenon," tomorrow other names could emerge.

Some features of this phenomenon are well known. It is a theater for one political actor, an organization concentrated around the personality of the leader [vozhd]. It attracts mostly young men with secondary education (we are talking not of party members but of voters who voted for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]. And, as a recent poll revealed, if the supporters of some forces are attracted by their party's program (as with the Communists), and others are drawn by their trust in the leaders (for instance with the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms), Zhirinovskiy's supporters are most interested in the promises that the leader has issued so lavishly. He undoubtedly won the television election campaign, which the leaders of other directions were obviously unable to do. One can speak of funds spent and their skillful use, of propagandist abilities and flair. The main thing is nonetheless that people are prepared to believe the most primitive explanations and the most unfeasible promises only when they really want to believe them.

Our political vocabulary is quite poor because political life itself is undeveloped and therefore, many oversimplified or inaccurate terms are current. It seems to me, for instance, that we should not take in vain serious terms specific to this age like fascism and nazism. In movements of the type organized by Zhirinovskiy (all the signs show it is a movement rather than anything else) and in the behavior of this leader, there are many fascist-type features: the mobilization of the masses' energy around primitive slogans, orientation toward the socially and psychologically inadequate, polemical and political advertizing methods, and others. Critics of this movement constantly overlook the fact that the halo of an outcast eminates around him and a leader is simply flattered by comparisons with personalities from totalitarian and fascist regimes. Nonetheless, today what we are faced with is most likely a player playing a fascist-type role (and, it seems to me, aware that he is a player). A fascist jester rather than a fascist.

Of course, the phenomenon of the new opposition requires explanation and analysis. The reference to society's "madness" looks apt but in my opinion explains nothing: Every madness has its logic and it must be understood in order to halt the illness. Whether we want it or not, henceforth we will have to consider the realities of society's political relief map, which will probably change, but will never be flat. Until we achieve a normal political life, reserves of despair, hatred, and credulity can be explosive and can provide grounds for various forms of pogrom movement.

But beyond this, all phenomena of this type are a mirror of our democracy's weaknesses and blunders. Now, according to the old Russian custom, in the circles of those who consider themselves democrats, there is primarily a search for the culprits (those who were guilty of failing to rally together, of failing to look properly, failing to resist, and so forth). Nonetheless, greater importance attaches to the question of what can be done, and how, under present conditions—in parliament and outside it—to localize and halt dangerous symptoms. Dusk has not yet quite fallen, we cannot say "it is too late." To resist the political organization of antidemocratic extremism it seems to me we must arm ourselves with a weapon that is party-type organization. Leaders' personal charm or respect for the ordinary political conduct line cannot replace this organization. That is one lesson of the 12 December elections.

They also contain a lesson for researchers. We noted the rapid growth in support for Zhirinovskiy a week before the elections, but it seems (we do not yet have the final results) that we did not fully appreciate the scale of the changes taking place in people's mood. We still have to ascertain which groups of the population were responsible for this growth (whether it was the mobilization of the most passive or the transfer of some supporters from the camp of other forces). In any case, we will have to think about a more accurate and regular measurement of the factors of the sociopolitical situation.

And one more lesson: It is time to put an end to the habit of rushing from illusions to panic, from expectations of easy success to despair. We are only entering real political life, and it cannot be simple.

Triumph of 'Populism' Temporary

PM1512112593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Andrey Kolesnikov: "Manna From Heaven Costing a Billion. The Temporary Triumph of Populism Does Not Mean It Has Won"]

[Text] The success of Zhirinovskiy's party with its metaphorical, not to mention mocking, name of "Liberal Democratic" could shock only those who had given no thought to the logic of Russia's political development over the last year and the evolution of the public mind from primitive anticommunism toward equally primitive, downright brutish fascistization conditioned by "the demands of the stomach."

It is naive to think that Zhirinovskiy was "made" by journalists or by the split in the democratic camp. Some of the active electorate, which had thought that the reforms would bring dazzling prosperity overnight, was disillusioned, and in revenge for the long wait for manna from heaven voted for someone who promised this manna as though he were reading out the weather forecast. And nobody bothered to consider from where these endless apartments, the Russian empire within the borders of the Soviet Union, and the other social and geopolitical "boons" were going to come.

Zhirinovskiy's populism and his brilliant TV election campaign are the simple secret of his success among the section of the population that is disillusioned with reform. But, interestingly, young people at the most tender of ages (around 20) eagerly, for a joke, voted for Zhirinovskiy. In time, we may "pay" for the fact that this generation lacks experience, historical memory, and basic knowledge of political hygiene....

As Zhirinovskiy himself admits, the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] spent about 1 billion rubles on the election campaign. So whose income paid for the votes of the carefree Russian people, who developed a liking for the impossible but heartwarming promises of the eminent Turkey specialist and son of a lawyer?

The Russian folk pastime—electing a kind czar—does not depend on economic development. Of course, the difficulties and social imbalance that have accompanied the first stage of the liberal reforms influenced voters' mood. But, nevertheless, I think that the evolution of the public mind toward the extreme right "corner" of the political map of Russia is now dependent only to a very small extent on the success or failure of the reforms. Political consciousness is evolving according to the laws of self-development: It will be quite some time before Zhirinovskiy gets the opportunity to keep his promises (heaven forbid that the wishes of a socially sick person are realized), but during this time his wishes will become those of the electorate to an even greater extent. The electorate wants stability "from Zhirinovskiy," but it will get the opposite result—civil war. How to avoid this is the most important question.

It is too soon to pack your bags and rush off to the Visas and Registration Department. At the moment there is no point in holding a wake for democracy. The country's economic situation is not so depressing that Zhirinovskiy can orchestrate the marches of lines of hungry people. The workers who voted for Zhirinovskiy and the people who put their cross opposite the LPDR and are dreaming of the Baltic countries joining Russia certainly lost their sense of reality and elementary national discipline. Despite everything, there are more people capable of working honestly and taking a sensible view of the world than deceived victims of cheap populism, that age-old Russian ill. We should also take into account the fact that the citizens who voted for Zhirinovskiy are anticommunists. They are the people who want neither communism nor democracy, who have essentially failed to properly decide their political preferences but unfortunately, as a result, are tilting toward national-socialism. It is still possible to explain to some of them in popular language what is happening in Russia, but in order to do this you must descend from the Olympian heights and go among the people to explain the government's policy.

The main argument in favor of an optimistic view of things is this: Zhirinovskiy will be unable by legal means to implement his most cherished desire to form a government or at least influence this process. The reformers still have enough time to ensure that no Zhirinovskiy can reverse the development of Russia.

'Racism' Fell on 'Fertile Soil'

MK1512111993 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report in the "Collision" column under the general headline "The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia Is Ahead by a Big Margin. Russia's Choice Hopes To Catch Up With Leader, Which Is Unlikely"]

[Text] We have received the first results of elections in Russia based on proportional representation. They have proved to be sensational. The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], which by many indicators can be considered as one of the dwarf parties, has scored a victory over the leaders of Russian politics—the communists and the democrats. This victory may seem deserved to some.

Talking about Zhirinovskiy in person, his accomplishments as a politician indeed cannot be denied. But what is really important here is not himself, but a whole string of absolutely unknown people on the LDP's slate whose past is unknown and whose future is predetermined by a semi-fascist ideology. Vladimir Volfovich has secured parliamentary seats for them, as these candidates could hardly have won the elections on their own. Actually, this does not call for any proof—at any rate, talking about the latest elections, because in constituencies contested on a majority basis everything happened differently: according to the norms of fairness. LDPR leaders have received very insignificant support. As for Zhirinovskiy, he easily carried his constituency.

Whether the advocates of the proportional representation system were right or not in introducing it in Russia, they have disclosed a fairly dangerous trend toward a change in the public mood. It has now been confirmed in documentary form that the voters have grown tired of the traditional promises both of the communists and the democrats. And they went whole hog, as the saying goes, supporting Zhirinovskiy's racist, provocative slogans. They liked the image of the humiliated and insulted Russian people. Many in Russian society accepted this game with great satisfaction. In a country where during Bolshevik rule anti-Semitism and chauvinism become state policy, the seeds of racism fell on fertile soil. Moreover, the strong fascist ideology is apparently being well assimilated by a weakened society full of inferiority complexes, where anomaly has long become a mode of life.

Yet there is no getting away from one's own mentality. Just as it is impossible for the Russians to move away from their conservatism. Incidentally, it can somewhat neutralize the trend toward the fascisization of society which is emerging following Zhirinovskiy's victory. The ballot results in majority constituencies testify to the voters' healthy conservatism. Russia's Choice has received 30 percent there and approximately the same share went to the agrarians and the communists. And no Zhirinovskiy.

Regional Journalist Comments

OW1512093493 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 2010 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Commentary by Lev Zvenigorodskiy, deputy chairman of the Dalnevostochnaya Television and Radio Company and director of its radio division; from the "Priamurye Day by Day" program]

[Text] So the preelection campaign is over. Such campaigns are typically described as marathons, though this would hardly be suitable in this case. The preparations were simply too rushed and [words indistinct] elections. We can now expect the commentaries of politicians and political analysts, the conclusions of psychologists and sociologists, and possibly psychiatrists. We have yet to understand the situation which our Russia now finds itself in. But there are things that we journalists should have done before but could not because the president's edict and the notorious statute on information aimed at preventing preelection agitation simply forbade us from commenting on the preelection struggle or expressing our views on the programs of candidates and blocs.

Practically every point of this statute contradicted the Law on Mass Information and defied common sense. Well, they say that you should not wave your fists around after a fight. And our well-known and respected commentators today look absurd on television and sound foolish over the radio as they try to explain post factum what happened in our Russia.

Unfortunately there was no option. The preelection campaign has shown us once again how easy, how truly easy, it is with a simple stroke of a pen to abandon freedom of speech, our only real democratic acquisition, and the [words indistinct] of glasnost in our country.

Many people today are trying to call the results of the elections sensational and unexpected, and cite Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party as an example. But surely sober-minded people in our country, and I hope there are quite a few of them, must have been alarmed by the results of the presidential elections in 1991, which already seems so long ago, when Vladimir Volfovich received some 7 percent of the vote. Even today some people attempt to call him a clown. But let us take a closer look. Behind him are the black shirts of our Russian fascists. His absurd promises and populist slogans are aimed at voters and specific levels of the population. And these people took the bait. We must understand full well that the purposeful and measured steps of fascist thugs can already be clearly heard behind Zhirinovskiy's second and impressive step.

But what about our democrats? They were engaged in their own squabbles, both at the federal and kray levels. Instead of appearing in a unified front at the elections and winning the majority of votes in the parliament, they broke up into blocs and groups whose participation in the State Duma is questionable today since the final results of the elections have not yet been released. And our inexperienced voters had to rack their brains as to who to vote for— for Russia's Choice headed by the smart and decisive Gaydar? For Yavlinskiy's bloc, since he looked just as smart in the preelection struggle? Or for the assertive and charming Shakhray or the strong Sobchak, the lawyer who is much respected in our country, together with the universally recognized and capable economist Fedorov?

And in our kray, too, the democratic candidates were too busy satisfying their own personal political ambitions to come to any agreement. Apparently, we will see the results of this in the State Duma. We can only pin our hopes on the common sense of all the democratically inclined deputies who, despite all their ambitions and differences, may somehow manage to unite and become a real force. They say that hope dies last. Unfortunately in our country nobody likes to draw conclusions from their own mistakes; people prefer to find the guilty. So once again there turned out to be [words indistinct] which in the opinion of some politicians sold too much time on the air for money. Of course (?you could agree).

But it is entirely our fault that we tried to do what was difficult to implement conditions of the statute on information guarantees. In this situation, however, we should not be looking for new enemies, and those who drew up this document ought to admit that they failed to take Russian conditions into consideration.

Of course I would like to say much more, but first of all the timeframe of an information program does not permit this, and second there are things that require more thought. But there is one thing which I must speak up about. Feast During the Plague, that is what many of my colleagues, friends, and acquaintances as well as many of our listeners who called the editorial office, called Tamara Maksimova's show devoted to the so-called New Political Year which was carried yesterday by Ostankino. It was obvious that the democrats were preparing to celebrate their victory at the elections. But the celebration fell flat and the show simply failed. Everybody says: Thank God. It is high time that our rulers understood that this is not the time to celebrate, and what victory can one talk about if our country, our Russia, is so grievously ill?

The elections are over. The time has come to continue life and work, to simply live a normal, human life. And one would like to hope that the parliament which we have elected also wants to make our lives human.

Media Assess Country's Situation Following Election

International Implications Examined

LD1312205393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Announcer-read commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] Now after Russians have voted for the Federal Assembly and on the new constitution, everyone is faced with the question, of course: What is the influence that these events can exert over international relations? Listen to this commentary by our observer Vladislav Kozyakov.

The main upshot of the vote taken in Russia is likely to be the continuation and development of the democratic process. Thirteen parties and scores of independent candidates took part in the election, which has had no parallel in the country's history for the past 80 years. The previous multiparty election took place as far back as in 1913, whereas the referendum to accept the Constitution was held for the first time ever, since Russia's many centuries of history had begun. All this clearly shows that a great power with a population of 150 million people, occupying almost one sixth of the land mass on the earth, is now a democracy, worthy of the community of democratic nations. And this cannot but impose a most positive effect on the whole system of international relations.

On his recent visit to Belgium, President Boris Yeltsin of Russia recalled a visit the Russian Tsar Peter the Great paid to that country. He told his entourage Russia is now reuniting with Europe again. According to many West European leaders, in very similar terms were described both the Russian-Belgian Treaty of Accord and Cooperation and the political declaration, which were signed and sealed in Brussels.

One can add to this that Russia comes back not only to Europe, but to neighborly relations with the United States, which are deeply rooted in the American War of Independence.

The new Russian constitution, which was accepted during the referendum on Sunday, provides for the well-established norms of democracy, including the right to private ownership and free enterprise, the right to own land, the right of free movement, and other fundamental human rights. It means that Russia shares the common human values of international repute, which can only facilitate mutual understanding between nations of the world.

As for the equilibrium of political forces in the newly elected Russian Parliament, the election returns indicate how it is very important to continue reforms in the country, not only for Russians, but for the rest of the world as well. The gains achieved by the extremist factions during the vote to the Federal Assembly can only serve to remind one of the issues that were not resolved in the course of democratic transformations. They may be explained by the complexity of processes that are going on, or even by the shortcomings made [sentence as heard].

However, it is almost certain that they were also caused by inconsistent attitudes over Russian reforms by the G-7 nations. On their part, they made many promises to facilitate the reforms, but the follow-up was very poor. According to a popular saying, every cloud has a silver lining.

The votes cast at the Russian election to support the extremist factions are likely to remind the international community of one simple fact. It should take its own strides as well to help Russian reforms develop. Both the world market economy and international security are directly concerned with the success of Russian reforms.

Parallels With Weimar Germany Drawn

PM1412111993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Article by Otto Latsis: "Success for Democracy, Misfire for the Democrats"]

[Text] The main sensation in Russia's first democratic elections has been the success of antidemocratic forces, primarily the party of Zhirinovskiy, who, like Hitler, describes himself as a national-socialist and puts forward many slogans reminiscent of Hitler's. Initial commentaries about this show a tendency to be tempted to put the problem down to propaganda failures and to poor organization of the election campaign by some parties and good organization by others. This is all true enough, but it only partially explains what has happened. No matter how powerful television is nowadays, it cannot overcome people's personal impressions of the life around them. And if, for instance, someone's life is going badly, politicians will be unable to persuade him he is having a wonderful time.

But surely just recently, in the April referendum, powerful popular support was shown for the policy of reform? It was. However, even back then, many people suspected that voters were voting not so much "for" as "against": against the forces of revenge that had captured a majority in the Supreme Soviet. These forces hankered only too clearly for the system that had ruled for 70 years and had become so graphically bankrupt before our very eyes.

The point that reformers failed to take into account was this: In repulsing the old parliament in September and October, they lost an adversary who not only hampered their work but also, paradoxically, strengthened the democrats' position. When they saw the Khasbulatovs, Konstantinovs, Pavlovs, and Chelnokovs on television, even politically unsophisticated voters would say: "Anything but this!" But no sooner than they been relieved of their fear of these people had they readied themselves, quite without misgivings, to call the authorities to account for all their troubles and for all the government's errors, for the overly protracted financial stabilization, for their disregard of social partnership, and for their talk about combating corruption and crime instead of action.

Unfortunately, most of the democrats were "barking up totally the wrong tree" in their assessment of the changed situation and decided that the fact that they had gotten rid of their main adversary allowed them to relax and to devote themselves primarily to mutual rivalry and to dividing up the cake of power.

"Russia, think again, you have gone crazy," a friend of mine said angrily on television the night after the elections. That is all fair game, but there is reason enough to go crazy. But this too should have formed part of politicians' calculations: the fact that in certain circumstances millions of people can lose their bearings for a while.

What is to happen now? The most stupid thing would be to abandon democracy, for which we have paid so high a price. Yes, voters have shown a shamefully high degree of trust in someone who is frankly deceiving them by promising things he clearly cannot deliver. But an important step has been taken along the road to a civil society: The constitution has been adopted and democratic elections have been held.

However, we must investigate the nature of the miscalculation and how to get rid of it. It is probably not worth spending much time discussing the purely professional mistakes of the organizers of the democrats' election campaign: They are plain to see.

It is quite obvious that the democratic parties must enter the new parliament with a clear plan for the creation and functioning of a broad reform coalition. I think that voters expect this not only of the parties, which supported the president's policy, but also of the DPR [Democratic Party of Russia] (Travkin's party) and certain other forces. Will the various sides show a desire to cooperate? We shall see. But people who are not brought to their senses even by the consciousness of the danger of fascism are beyond help, so to speak.

There is something else that may seem less obvious. For instance, what view do the Commmunists take of the results of the elections? Do they see anything except their own success? Among the ranks of the armed bandits in the White House the most radical Communists were already side by side with the most radical fascists, the Barkashovites [supporters of outlawed Russian National Union]. Zyuganov's Communists dissociated themselves from the violence. But in their propaganda the democrats and their policy of reform remained the main, if not the only, target of criticism. This is depressingly reminiscent of Germany on the eve of Hitler's arrival in power, when the Communists tried harder to crush the social democrats than they did to crush the fascists.

It is well known what a disaster this spelled first for the Communists and then for the whole of Germany. Nowadays so far fate has been kind: Zhirinovskiy's party is still not in first place [eshche ne pervaya] and those who do not want any strengthening of fascism have two years in hand before the next elections. Unfortunately, the entire inertia of the Communists' political election strategy gears them toward continuing the crude populism of the former Supreme Soviet and toward fighting against the policy of reform pursued by the government. Will they be able to make any amendments to this course? Will they want to?

Maybe they will confirm the predictions of certain analysts who say we will be faced with a parliamentary alliance between the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] and the LPDR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]? Never mind, at least if this happens it will end the illusions of those who regard the CPRF as a left-wing party.

There is just one thing I would not like to see: the supporters of reform perceiving the extraordinary strength of Zhirinovskiy's party as the sole reason for their failure and devoting all their efforts to propaganda about the danger of fascism. That danger exists, it is great, and it must be combated as soon as possible. But the main force that inflicted defeat upon the democrats is their own complacency, thoughtlessness, and arrogance. This is what must be combated above all.

I also must have bitter words for myself and all my fellow journalists. We bear a large part of the blame for the fact that millions of voters did not realize that Zhirinovskiy means fascism. We allowed "fascist" to be used as an everyday term of abuse, making it almost inoffensive and watering down the real meaning: not just any old reactionary, but a party of power for the sake of power that will stoop to anything. We reveled in "tough-talking" journalism and paid no attention to explaining to readers in simple terms complex phenomena in life. We competed to destroy public ideals both with and without cause: to see who would go furthest in showing the seamy side of everything that was admired. It is time for us to think again.

However, for all the blunders of the policy of reform, the significant thing is this. On literally the first day of the existence of the new constitution those who did not comprehend this before may realize why Russia in its present state needed a clear restriction of the prerogatives of parliament, which cannot go beyond the bounds of legislative activity. This is why it was necessary to take precautionary measures against the fateful consequences of the very likely accidents of the transitional period.

The very properties of the new fundamental law that many people questioned from the standpoint of democratic spirit have served in the very first days to strengthen the position of democracy. However, the constitution gained by Russians obliges democracy itself to show political maturity. What is at stake today is this: Is Russia going to give Zhirinovskiy the opportunity in the next presidential elections to turn the constitution's merits to his own advantage? The joking is over, gentlemen and comrades.

New System Will Foster 'Compromise'

PM1412103293 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Nikita Vaynonen: "Russia Has a Strong and Clear Constitution"]

[Text] The final, official results of the vote are not yet available. The preliminary results are worse than expected. All the same, the words in the headline are no sin against the truth: The referendum on the draft new Constitution and the elections to the Federal Assembly were valid. And this fact, regardless of the distribution of votes, means one thing: The system that was established in Russia in October 1917 has ceased to exist. The soviet socialist state is no more. That has now been established not only by presidential edicts, but by the highest source of power in Russia—the people themselves.

So what is there instead? Of course, things have not gotten any easier for the country in the course of one day while we were voting and one night while our votes were being counted. All the same, let us attach due weight to what happened 12 December. A new era has begun. An artificial system that was imposed on society and could only maintain itself through deception and coercion is being replaced by a different system which is not, of course, ideal, which is very complex, rigorous, and even in many ways cruel, but which is based on the natural laws of human life. To possess from birth all the rights of a free individual, to enjoy without fear the wealth acquired and created by generations of your family and by your own hands, intelligence, and talent, to own land, to have guarantees of protection of that property and protection of your personal freedom, honor, and dignity, to know and be sure that as a person and a citizen you are equal with everyone irrespective of faith, convictions, or nationality, that you can say what you think and do what you want provided it does not infringe the same rights of others, to have the right honestly and lawfully to earn as much as you can, with no restrictions—all this and much more that is enshrined in the new Constitution opens up for everyone the opportunity to acquire prosperity and be a free person in a free country.

Of course, there is a vast difference between potential and reality. The Soviet Constitution also made plenty of promises, but the state and the regime it installed only used these slogans as cover for the rape of society. To avoid a repetition of this, Russia needs a new statehood whose principles must be realized in the new power structures which we elected 12 December.

The first and most important feature of that statehood is legitimacy: The so-called "main question of any revolution," the question of power, has been decided not by violent but by legitimate means. The people themselves have decided their fate, not according to one party's "design," not at gunpoint, but by a free expression of will. For all the defects of the election campaign and the actual voting, for the first time since 1917 the elections reflect fairly accurately the real condition of society: Different as we all are, on the whole we have gotten who we wanted, from Gaydar to Zhirinovskiy. And that means that in principle it is no longer possible to look for someone to blame, avoiding a sense of responsibility. Appropriate representation of the interests that exist within society weakens the "gene" of civil war and strengthens the chances of a balance of forces and reasonable compromises: Parliamentary struggle, however fierce, is better than fighting at the barricades.

Of course, there is a real danger that even in the new parliament intransigent confrontation will prevail. But it is by no means inevitable. Objectively, the Federal Assembly will find that the circumstances push even the intransigents of yesterday and today insistently toward compromise: Society will no longer accept a fight to annihilation.

The second feature of our new statehood is derived from its legitimacy—namely, its capacity to improve. The soviet, or rather party-soviet, form of government was fundamentally stagnant, capable only of cosmetic operations that merely exacerbated the underlying ugliness of its face. The Russian state that was born 12 December is a child that is not, perhaps, 100-percent healthy, but is entirely capable of normal growth and development. Its ailments, even the gravest, such as corruption and bureaucracy, have changed their nature and are no longer mortal. They are curable. To disregard this would be as unjust—and impractical!—as to fall into euphoria and fail to see the serious dangers and obstacles that the country has by no means overcome yet.

The most important of these is probably within ourselves. If the new parliament, like its predecessor, disregards the two-way link with society, and if society fails to notice this in time and to rectify it, the possibility of backsliding will arise again. What can guarantee stability in that case? Only one thing, I think: the stability of the government, its unity, the consistency of its policy—and the only one who can ensure that is, once again, the president. The next few months will reveal whether we can negotiate this turn of the screw.

Be that as it may, the elections provided the evidence that for all the contradictions that exist in society, it is united on one point: No more revolutions, let us start living!

'Old Regime' Attachment Expected To Pass

PM1412135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under "Experts' Opinion" rubric: "The Countryside Believes in the Old Regime"]

[Text] Russia's voters are voting not "for" or "against" reforms but according to the principle that "things should not get worse." This is the conclusion reached, after analyzing the preliminary voting results, by Emil Pain, director of the Political Research Center. Thus, he believes, Russia's population as a whole is conservative.

In the expert's opinion, a special feature of Russia is the fact that two types of conservatism exist here: In the cities the majority of the residents support the present government, whereas in the countryside a considerable proportion of the population still believes in a rebirth of the old regime—one which ensured a protectionist policy in respect of the agrarian sector by buying its produce as a standing crop at low prices.

"In a couple of years' time there will be no greater supporters left of the 'government party' than countryfolk, who will be persuaded of the advantages of the market economy. This is a common process for the majority of civilized market states, and this trend will hardly be broken in Russia," the political scientist is convinced.

Constitution Seen as 'Salvation'

PM1412114393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under "Experts' Opinion" rubric: "The Fundamental Law Is Our Salvation"]

[Text] "In the political situation, which has arisen following the elections, the strong presidential power consolidated by the new Constitution will be decisive for us in the defense of democratic gains." This opinion was expressed by Academician Dmitriy Likhachev. He believes that the election results "remove all doubts about whether it is good or bad that we have adopted the new Constitution of the Russian Federation. It is our salvation."

The academician called the democrats' relative failure a "weakness of truthful people." Unlike their opponents, they were more truthful in their promises and spoke only of what was really achievable.

Likhachev sees the political personality of Zhirinovskiy as "the bulwark of reactionary forces whose fortification could have serious consequences for the country." It would have been far worse, however, if Zhirinovskiy had not gotten into the State Duma, the academician is certain. In his new role he "is sure to expose himself as a bankrupt," which, in Likhachev's opinion, will "nullify his pretensions to success in the coming presidential election."

Editor on 'Deplorable' Elections

MK1412113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Vitaliy Tretyakov, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's chief editor: "The Final Piece of Advice for the Kremlin. This Government Is Incapable of Salvaging Democracy: It Is Politically Incompetent"]

[Text] What has happened had to happen, as has been written and warned about by honest and not court newspapers and commentators. I remember one courtier's prediction: Russia's Choice will poll 30 percent plus or minus 10 percent. In other words, there will be either a sweeping victory (40 percent) or a nearly catastrophic defeat (20 percent). How is that for professionalism?

A defeat has occurred. No, so far not for the entire democracy, but merely for one of the main aspirants for the role of democrat—Russia's Choice. But they have ensured such an impressive victory for Zhirinovskiy that even they (fearless on the morning of 4 October) were frightened themselves. Possessed by this fright, they imposed a blackout on all reports related to election results overnight from 12 to 13 December. One can only wish that they will not do something worse.

It is pleasant when one's own predictions come true. It is unpleasant when these are sad predictions. It would have been better to have made a mistake. But the fools did not allow that to happen—they have helped one to stay wise.

On one hand, it is clear that the deplorable election outcome for Russia's Choice was accurately calculated by some Kremlin strategists. On the other, there was no political will to change the course of events in favor of the democratic camp as a whole, and not only of their own bloc. On one hand, on the eve of 12 December another package of inflation-fraught edicts was issued to regain at least part of the already fleeing electorate. On the other, the game against Zhirinovskiy was played so "finely" that this fine threat just snapped.

It is unfortunate when a serious matter is entrusted to nonprofessionals. It is unfortunate that people do not understand: in principle it is possible to fire at parliament at point-blank range (it is bad, but possible), as long as there are some economic success stories. But if there are no success stories (or if there are but the "uneducated" populace does not understand this), it is better not to shoot.

The extent of self-deception and lack of political will was demonstrated by the failed overnight festivity in the Kremlin. They gathered to celebrate victory and also show off their democratic nature to the entire world. But when it turned out that although the victor was there is the hall, he was not the one they had hoped for, everything went to rack and ruin: glasnost was thrown out the window; the guests ran away; the president failed to show up; and they started looking for the guilty (naturally, not among themselves but among other democratic blocs and the voters who had cast their ballots the wrong way).

To be sure, there were optimists too. For instance, Mr. Shumeyko, who declared that the constitution had been passed and that therefore the current government would stay on until 1996. The sole joy for this gentleman arising from the constitution's being adopted is that he will hold his post for another two and a half years. Quite a term, of course, but the wise Gaydar for his part was somehow not so joyful. Because he understands that even this authoritarian constitution has no decent application. Even if the State Duma with a strong (or maybe even the strongest?) Zhirinovskiy faction is dissolved. Then in the next election he will get even more seats. Of course, the constitution provides for the president's power to impose a state of emergency almost at his own discretion. It is easy to issue an edict, but this score will only be used to play a prelude to a civil war.

Now, I think, many of those who legitimize the draft presidential constitution have appreciated all of its fine features as far as Mr. Zhirinovskiy is concerned by adding up his votes with the votes of Russia's Choice—the two main promoters of this document.

Stop! Our political pundits have taken things too far now. When it gets down to brass tacks, they deserve being dismissed en bloc, but this is impossible: They must bring some benefit for Russia and its democracy even if it is the last thing they do. Of course, if they do not listen to advice again but accuse others of their own mistakes—primarily, of course, the democratic opposition (and, in my opinion, this has already begun), then.... I do not know—the scenario here is too terrible; let us do without it for the time being.

A true coalition government must be based on the democratic majority in the State Duma, if it is formed; and if it is not formed, it will be necessary to win over part of the communists. And no more fairy tales (tell them to your children) about the incumbent government's being coalition-based. These are simply two hostile political clans cohabiting because of the their unwillingness to lose Staraya Ploshchad. This is first.

Second, do not rush from one extreme to another; take a sober and calm view of the situation. You have been fighting the mythical communo-fascism and have ended up with bringing real fascism into parliament.

Third, give up violence "in the name of democracy" and, most importantly, in the name of your staying in power. Any violence will only weaken your positions and strengthen the prospects of dictatorship.

Fourth, analyze (better in public but this is hard to expect) the voting results in the Army. Do not allow it finally to slip away from under the influence of democratic politics. Do not commit it anywhere, especially in Central Russia—sooner or later it will sweep you away just like bread crumbs from the table for dragging it into the confrontation.

Fifth, admit the mistakes of September and October. Yes, here you are in a very difficult position but summon up enough courage to find a worthy way out.

Sixth, do not rush to another extreme—curtail the reforms altogether. Keep the reformers in the government.

Seventh, do not forget that today there is none of you who could not resign, except the president. There is not a single member in the government or the presidential administration who can not be replaced. It is important to stay the course but not to preserve a particular assortment of names.

Eighth, there are alternatives to the president—even now. I shall mention them by name: Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, Shakhray, and Sobchak. I shall not go into their weak and strong points. But they may become a real alternative only if the date of presidential elections is clearly established. I think that now it will be in June 1995. Not later. If it happens later, and if its date is not defined accurately or is violated, so that we (and primarily the candidates) prepare for them in fits and starts, the alternative will be Zhirinovskiy—the only one.

Ninth, do not try to take your revenge on anybody! You yourselves are to blame. The people of Russia do not want fascism. You have pushed it down this path. Do not avenge the people. They are the only ones that can save themselves and you, provided, of course, that you kick the fools and revolutionaries out of your ranks. It is high time.

Tenth, this is for the West: Do not give foolish advice to Russian politicians. If you do not want to give money—give nothing. We have plenty of fools of our own.

Results Seen Weakening Regions

MK1512103093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Dmitriy Oreshkin from the Russian Academy of Sciences Geography Institute, Mercator Group, in the "Geopolitics" column: "Zhirinovskiy's Success as an Expansion of the Provincial Subconscious"]

[Text] Politically, Russia has consisted of fairly stable regional associations with their own sympathies and antipathies. This framework is also visible in the present-day confusion.

Moscow, St. Petersburg, Arkhangelsk, Yaroslavl, Khabarovsk, and the Urals, have from year to year been demonstrating solid support for the democratic transformations, beginning with the 1991 presidential elections and up to this very moment.

If one digs a little deeper, the election behavior pattern in other democratically oriented regions has been almost traditional. In the Komi Republic, in Murmansk and Tomsk Oblasts and in some others, Russia's Choice has given way—just a little—with a substantial share of the votes going to the Yavlinskiy bloc. Yet it did give way.

Likewise, the conservative-minded regional associations, where the communists and the agrarians hold strong positions, show a general pro-Zhirinovskiy coloring.

Territorially, the victory by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia is apparently being interpreted as an expansion of provincialism. Discounting the sparsely populated northern regions, which in their orientation toward raw materials from time immemorial have been supporting the course by Moscow democrats, there have been just isolated metropolitan isles amid the general deluge. Khabarovsk is the recognized capital of the Far East; the Urals are the "country's industrial heartland," and so forth. Metropolitan districts in all countries of the world remain leading zones, centers of innovation, spreading their informational influence over the periphery. Today, this hierarchy has been reversed.

Herein lies indirect evidence of the causes of the crisis: The administrative centers have not coped with their functions.

The conduct by Russia's sovereign republics deserves a special analysis. What formerly appeared to be their united front has now fallen into bits and pieces striving to fulfill themselves separately.

Buryatia and Gornyy Allay supported the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA], which is quite natural. Adygeya and North Ossetia supported the communists, and Bashkiria backed the Agrarian Party. Ingushetia, with amazing unanimity, has favored the Democratic Party of Russia, the only one among the Federation components.... The old commonplace law that the Republics vote—as is required by the local elite—has been reaffirmed once again. It is more interesting that the elites are obviously in a state of confusion, incapable of coordinating a common policy. Meanwhile, the republics, dominated by Russian-speakers, have been carried by the LDPR, which means that the positions of the local bosses, who have very effectively blackmailed Moscow, demanding both sovereignty and subsidies at the same time, have been weakened.

Zhirinovskiy's triumph and the PRUA's nearly total failure (was it so long ago that Sergey Shakhray seriously talked about the speaker's chair in the future parliament and his presidential ambitions?) testify to an ebbing of Russian regionalism.

In this country, as in no other country, liberalization of power has always taken on a territorial dimension. And this territorial dimension has been one of the most powerful factors forcing the scaling down of liberalization. The provinces began "to take too many liberties" and Russia hastily curtailed the next stage of reforms without finalizing it.

In recent months the government itself has consistently pursued a policy of appeasing the regions. This, in turn, meant the strengthening of central administrative structures of the sectoral ministries type. To counterbalance the regional elites, the influence of the Army, the Finance Ministry, and the Security Ministry have also been strengthened.

Zhirinovskiy merely sensed more acutely, took up and, with a populist's candor, announced this policy, about which many of his fellow citizens have been dreaming. In fact, the slow perestroyka of regional politics, started over the head of the chief regionalist Sergey Shakhray and apparently prompting him to go it alone politically, was usurped by the present winner with a straightforwardness typical of a khan.

Zhirinovskiy has received support among the population—the population which, in contrast to the Moscow bosses, has its own ideas about what is good. As is traditional in Russia, the Europeanized elites and the masses of the population have found themselves in systems with different coordinates.

Thus, the refined European Nikolay II was swept aside by a wave from within the country, which led to the formation of Stalin's oriental despotism.

Thus, Mikhail Gorbachev, who, in a very European style, was stringing Raisa Maksimovna along with him wherever he went, was replaced first by a far more Russian Boris Yeltsin, who did not abuse gentleman's mannerisms, and now a new leader may be appearing, who is quite openly looking toward the East.

Is this geopolitics? Rather, cultural waves. The phenomenon of the latest elections is primarily a phenomenon of mass culture. The showman triumphs. Even so, the country has retained its own internal framework and its own path.

What has happened is not a catastrophe, but a temporary, although very painful, defeat; in all likelihood, inevitable. A retreat in some form or another is already occurring in Poland, Lithuania, and Slovakia. This could simply not have bypassed Russia. The only question is how far this retreat will go....

[Article is accompanied by a map showing the geographical distribution of the parties that have won seats in the State Duma, as of the afternoon of 14 December 1993; and also the following diagram]

The Votes Received by the Election Blocs and Parties in 108 out of 225 Electoral Districts (according to the Central Election Commission as of 2000, 14 December 1993) [in percentages]

LDPR	24.28
Russia's Choice	16.0
The Russian Federation Communist Party	11.39
Women of Russia	8.69
The Agrarian Party	8.47
Yabloko	7.32
The Democratic Party of Russia	6.61
PRES	6.17 (The other blocs and parties have apparently not cleared the 5- percent barrier)

Election Reflects Nation's 'Discontent'

LD1512092793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0808 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by Igor Galkin, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—The returns of the December 12 parliamentary elections in Russia, in which the ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party took the lead, reflect not so much the effect of campaigning or propaganda ploys as the discontent of the Russian people with the social situation in the country.

This was revealed by the public opinion polls summarized and commented upon by Sergey Mutovkin and published in the first issue of the new periodical "VLAST" (POWER) after the two-week pre-election ban on such publications was lifted.

Had the reformers paid more attention to the public sentiments they would not have been stunned by the voters' behavior in the elections, the author said. The pre-election opinion polls, particularly those conducted in the provinces, reveal the confusion in which many voters found themselves ahead of the elections.

A relatively small part of the total population has already adapted to the new social and economic conditions, the large part, however, having lost state guarantees without which life seems inconceivable to them, are reacting inadequately, giving in to panic and behave unpredictably.

Surveys show that many people are suffering nervous breakdowns caused by the loss of confidence in the morrow, disappointment in the present realities and the loss of ideological and moral guidelines, while rejecting many of he new values, social inequality and have despaired of ever reaching an acceptable standard of living. It is not surprising therefore that many people fail to cope with the psychological strain and believe that only a miracle can help them out.

Mutovkin points out that "on the whole, the dissatisfaction with the present conditions has been voiced by 80 per cent of those polled, with forty percent among them expressing a heightened level of discontent."

The lack of stability in one's inner state indicates that imbalances also exist in the state of social groups and strata. This instability is mainly due to the dwindling standards of life, price jumps, a crime wave, a very low level of social protection and insurance, the housing problem and general disorder in the country. Hence the inadequate reaction to the new way of life, to electoral programs, decisions and promises.

More on VLAST Analysis

LD1512100993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0903 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Report by Vadim Polyakov, ITAR-TASS commentator]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—Among the flood of periodicals which appear and disappear from Russia's newspaper stalls, new ones can hope to find and retain their readership only if they offer a fresh look at life and at the same time probe deeper than others.

One such new periodical out to win a readership for itself is VLAST (Power), which published its first issue hot on the heels of the country's first free parliamentary elections in the post-Soviet era.

Originally designed to herald the advent of free and fair democracy in Russia, the periodical had to open its first issue with an analysis of what brought about the election returns which surprised, baffled and confused many supporters of the democratic, reformer forces in the country.

Interestingly, the analysis is of the public opinion polls conducted throughout Russia ahead of the elections, with an emphasis on the provinces. The analyst, Sergey Mutovkin, seeks to look deeper than the electoral campaign itself with its propaganda ploys, promises and programs. Moreover, he does not blame the outcome on the discord among the democratic coalitions and parties in the runup to the polls.

The surveys he analyses indicate that the bulk of the country's population is still suffering from uncertainty and confusion about the country's new course and some are clearly panicky about it. Some of those polled expressed "a heightened level of discontent", the publication says. Hence, the returns of the elections, which expressed protest against uncertainty more than anything else.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the publication is that public uncertainty is a dangerous thing at any time, particularly where old moral and ideological guidelines have been taken away from a people inured for decades to a situation in which "confident guidelines" were served on a platter by the country's single supreme authority, and new, multiple authorities fail to formulate their guidelines "loud and clear." This is a situation in which the confident intonation of public declarations may lead those who seek certainty in any direction. And more, democrats will now have to move quick and sweat to educate the masses as soon as possible, if they want to lead the country along the path of further fundamental democratic changes.

'Confusion' at Commission's Election Night Briefing

PM1312175593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Voldemar Koreshkov "Rejoinder": "Journalists Left To Rely on Television"]

[Text] The editorial office knew that two interesting events were scheduled for the night of 12-13 December: namely, a splendid celebration of the birth of the new political year in the State Kremlin Palace, and a working meeting in the Central Electoral Commission, which, after all, would be a little quicker off the mark with the election reports.

By 2200 hours, television and radio commentators, newspaper and journal representatives, and foreign observers had filed into the hall of press conferences at 19 Novyy Arbat Street. In all there were around 70 people.

However, the confusion began immediately. The entrance to the elevators leading to the Central Electoral Commission was blocked by security guards. Staffers' telephones remained stubbornly silent. The press service, too, stayed quiet. Then, at 2240 hours, Press Service Chief Aleksandr Bukhvalov read out statistics for all regions on the number of voters who had taken part in the ballot as of 1800 hours.

And that was it. No more did Aleksandr Bukhvalov appear on the scene with official, or even preliminary statistics.

By now the journalists were glued to the television sets. They learned everything there was to know about the marathon. But even then, presenter Tamara Maksimova could not rescue the situation. In a bid to somehow explain the lack of reports, voices from the television screen began talking about a mysterious information virus and reciting verses and telegrams which had been sent in, and which could have gone to compile a hefty volume.

Some of them went to the bar where, along with foreign beverages and delicacies (smoked sausage for 12,400 rubles), lay our very own Russian sprats in tomato sauce. There were guitarists and singers.

At 0320 hours, Aleksandr Bukhvalov finally made an appearance in the foyer and declared: "Gentlemen, reports are being processed, and the collated results will be known between 0900 and 1000 hours. The building is closing."

So, having demonstrated a total disrespect for journalists, this show came to an end. The hall was closed. Many observers, including those from neighboring countries, were forced to make their way home in the slushy weather at 0400 hours—some to a hotel, others to their own homes.

European Union To Help Azeri, Kyrgyz, Tajik Refugees

LD1412203693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1816 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels, 14 December, TASS—States-members of the European Union have decided to render humanitarian aid to Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajik refugees.

Some 900,000 displaced persons are staying in Azerbaijan, 20 per cent of whose territory not to mention Nagorno-Karabakh are occupied by the Armenians. This is one eighth of the Azeri population, says a report circulated here today. The EC commission has allocated three million ECU (approximately 3.4 million U.S. dollars) to buy them food, medicines, and prime necessities.

A 3.1 million ECU worth of humanitarian aid will be rendered to Kyrgyzstan, which has considerable economic difficulties. The aim of the program is to help pensioners, handicapped, orphans, and families with many children.

A total of 500,000 ECU will be used to help Tajik refugees who found themselves in Afghanistan as result of recent tragic events. Part of this money will be used to finance the return to Tajikistan of refugees who wish to do it.

Plan for Azerbaijan-Iran-Turkey Gas Pipeline Viewed

NC1312222693 Yerevan SNARK in English 0712 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, 11 December (SNARK)—The Turkish Minister of Resources Atasoy undertook the negotiations with the Turkmenistan leadership. They took place in Ashgabat, on December 6-8. There was discussed the problem of the Turkmen gas export to Europe. The sides came to a conclusion the most comfortable tour for the future gas pipe-line is the way through the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan, Iran, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and Turkey.

According to the opinion expressed by the Turkmenistan Oil-Gas Minister, the sides will not meet difficulty laying the gas pipe-line through the territory of Iran because there exists the agreement with the official Tehran on the point. He also mentioned that the West shouldn't be anxious with the Irani participation in the project. The sides also discussed the problem connected with the Turkmen energy transit through the territory of Turkey to Europe.

Russia Pushes for Fishing Zone in Caspian Sea

NC1312221393 Yerevan SNARK in English 0712 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, 11 December (SNARK)—On December 9 there was completed a meeting of the Caspian countries' representatives designated to the developing an agreement "On preservation and usage of biological resources of the Caspian Sea".

According to the report of Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry, "during the negotiations it was managed basically to coordinate items of the agreement. However the agreements over some other items wasn't achieved.

The main disagreements were over the determining of the location of the Committee on Preservation and Usage of biological resources' headquarters and over the figuring out fishery zones of jurisdiction of all sides.

The width of fishery zone suggested by Russia is much narrower than is proposed by Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, that didn't lead to the final framing of the agreement's draft.

As it is known, Russia insists on 12-miles national fishery zone of bioresources of the Caspian Sea.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 15 Dec

LD1512075393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0619 GMT 15 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 15 December, TASS—ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on preliminary results of elections and the referendum.

The newspaper, noting that the draft constitution of the Russian Federation was endorsed by the bulk of the electorate, carries a political statement by President Boris Yeltsin, who points out that by voting for the constitution, the people of Russia ensured conditions for a steady development of reforms and democracy.

Analysing the results of elections to the Federal Assembly and success of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR), headed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the newspaper points out that this fact could shock only those who "failed to ponder over the logic of the political development of Russia over the past year and the evolution of the public opinion from primitive anticommunism to as primitive 'fascistisation'".

"Zhirinovskiy's populism and the brilliantly conducted election campaign through television appearances—such are the simple makings of the party's success among a certain proportion of the population who have become disillusioned with reforms."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on parliamentary election results.

The newspaper refers to the results as "sensational." "The Liberal Democratic Party, which by many parameters can be reckoned among diminutive parties, has outperformed the luminaries of Russian politics—the Communists and democrats. To some people, probably, this triumph will seem to be a well-deserved one."

"As far as Zhirinovskiy himself is concerned, his achievements as a politician cannot really be denied, but the matter concerns not so much Zhirinovskiy as a full list of utterly unknown people who ran on the Liberal Democratic Party ticket, and whose past is unknown while the future is pre-determined by a semi-fascist ideology."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on parliamentary election.

The elections to parliament have revealed a rather dangerous trend of a change in social sentiments. It has been confirmed primarily by documents that the electorate got sick and tired of traditional promises by both Communists and democrats.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on the same subject.

"The electorate voted against Gaydar and the like-minded people, rather than for Zhirinovskiy."

The newspaper draws some conclusions from the preliminary results of the polling which have shown that "a turn is under way in society's attitude of mind." "The population have got sick and tired of shock-therapy experiments and decline in the living standards. Legal arbitrariness and the lack of tangible results in the fight against organised crime intensify the desire for a strong leader."

As far as the LDPR is concerned, from now on with any attitude to its programme "one should remember that a considerable proportion of the Russian electorate voted for it. The LDPR has the right to expect that its opinion should be reckoned with in the formation of a new cabinet and the shaping of its policy."

TRUD Quotes the LDPR leader as saying at a recent press conference that the party is ready for cooperation with those who are now in power. Thereby Zhirinovskiy made a new tactical move, "showing loyalty and as if openness for cooperation."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA examines the question of how the president and a new parliament may find ways towards future cooperation.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the alignment of political forces in the Federal Assembly.

"It is clear already now that represented in the new parliament will be forces which do not promise, as was expected, a decisive unity and consructivism in its work. Many analysts note that a new aggravation of the relationship between the legislative and executive branches of power can be expected rather soon."

"Reports are being spread that the servicemen ostensibly voted 'only for the LDPR.' One thing is clear: scarcely a new parliament has been elected when parties and blocs are starting intrigues around the armed forces as well. It is inadmissible to exploit this issue. There is nothing more dangerous than attempts to draw the armed forces into a political show".

PRAVDA carries an article which expresses an opinion that the population of the Russian Federation through the polling issued a very tough-worded statement the principal meaning of which is "the collapse of the democratic myth and renunciation of the Western utopia."

Moscow-based newspapers also highlight U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore's visit to Russia. Mr Gore, as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points out, has described the adoption of a new constitution as a considerable "positive event."

Newspapers also note that the purpose of the visit is for the U.S. Vice-President to attend the second session of the Russian-U.S. Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on the results of President Boris Yeltsin's recent visit to Brussels:

Russia "returns to the fold of European nations."

Vice President Gore Continues Visit to Moscow

Tours Space Control Center

LD1412145993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Anna Bakina, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 14 December, TASS—U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore, currently in Moscow on an official visit, visited the Russian space mission control centre on Tuesday [14 December].

Greeting the audience, Gore said that he arrived in Russia to sign a number of agreements pertaining to Russo-American cooperation in the field of space exploration.

The vice-president said he admired the work of Russian cosmonauts Vasiliy Tsiblev and Aleksandr Serebrov who had been working in the orbit for 166 days.

While in the space centre, Gore spoke to the Russian cosmonauts by television. Serebrov welcomed the American guest and told him about his numerous space walks—the record-breaking nine times out in raw space. The Russian cosmonaut suggested presenting one of his gloves he wore during space walks to Albert Gore and the other one—to Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin as a symbol of strengthening cooperation between the two countries.

The U.S. vice-president, accompanied by director general of the Russian space agency, Yuriy Koptev, the NASA Director Daniel Golding and representatives of the "Energia" scientific-industrial association visited the second block of the space mission control centre which controlled the "Buran" space apparatus and which is expected to control a new orbital station "Mir-2."

Cooperation in Military Conversion Planned

LD1412202393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The governments of Russia and the U.S.A. intend to strengthen their cooperation in military conversion and diversification of defense enterprises. A memorandum on the issue will be signed after a meeting of the Conversion Committee under the Russo-American Economic and Environmental Cooperation Commission presided over by U.S. Vice President Albert Gore and Russian Vice Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

According to the document, the two countries intend to actively cooperate in the implementation of specific conversion projects, promote the construction of houses for retired officers and their families, maintain contacts, exchange of technologies and trade between Russian and American state enterprises and private companies.

The memorandum is another step towards closer cooperation in specific areas that followed the signing of the bilateral statement on conversion cooperation of June 17 1992 and the agreement reached at the Russo-American Summit in Vancouver in April 1993.

Nowadays the question is to develop a coherent approach to bilateral cooperation in the large-scale conversion of defense enterprises and workforce to meet civil needs.

Visit Confirms Stability of Ties

LD1412194793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Excerpts] The U.S. vice president is visiting Russia in the wake of the parliamentary elections and the referendum on the new constitution. This fact in itself is confirmation of how certain both countries are about the stable development of Russian-U.S. relations. Cooperation between the new democratic Russia and the United States is a permanent factor of international life.

As for the influence of the just held elections and referendum, it can only have positive effects on partnership between Moscow and Washington. [passage omitted]

During the U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's stay in Moscow, there will be a second session of the joint commission for cooperation in the field of energy and space. [passage omitted] At this session of the Russian-U.S. commission for cooperation, just like the first one in Washington, it will be chaired by its copresidents, Vice President Gore and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. A number of agreements will be signed. One of them concerns a plan for building an international space station, a joint project that will bring together Russia and the United States, together with EC countries, Canada, and Japan.

There have been certain helpful shifts in removing trade barriers set up during the Cold War years. [passage omitted] Yet many other discriminatory restrictions on trade with Russia have remained in effect, although at the Vancouver summit it was agreed to normalize economic ties.

In the meantime, the agenda of the current talks the U.S. vice president is having in Moscow includes preparations for another summit meeting, this time in January. Will commercial relations between Russia and the United States be normalized by then? Those between Russia and the European Union are practically normal already.

U.S. Fiber Optic Sale Confirms 'End of Cold War'

PM1512112993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "U.S. Patriots Will Sell Us Banned Cable"]

[Excerpt] Washington—[passage omitted] The U.S. Department of Commerce has taken a step which many people regard as the most substantial confirmation of the end of the cold war—more important than the embraces at summit meetings.

The Department of Commerce has "recommended" that permission be given to the renowned AT&T—the American Telegraph and Telephone Company—(and to other similar private corporations) to sell sophisticated fiber-optic technology to the countries of the former Soviet Union and China. [passage omitted]

Moscow Mayor Rejects 'War' Over U.S. Parking Fines

PM1412162593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Viktor Belikov: "Moscow City Hall Does Not Intend To Unleash Automobile War With U.S. Embassy"]

[Text] There was an appeal in IZVESTIYA from Russian diplomats in the United States to Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov asking that retaliatory actions be taken to demands from Americans that they pay fines totaling several thousand dollars for the illegal parking of embassy vehicles in Washington and New York.

The head of the Moscow administration said in reply to IZVESTIYA that the question of observing the principle of reciprocity in the activity of the diplomatic services is a matter for the Foreign Ministry: "Our task is to create the most favorable conditions for all those living and working in Moscow and we do not single out anyone in particular in this desire."

The U.S. Embassy has asked for help in finding parking space for a large number of vehicles. This opportunity was provided since its territory was essentially considered to be ownerless. Now the U.S. Embassy will pay rent for the land."

For the future, the mayor continued, it could be recommended to our Foreign Ministry that it give sufficient notice to the Moscow authorities of existing or imminent problems so that the city administration can consider them before making a decision on a particular question.

A spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry told your IZVESTIYA correspondent: "The problem of parking for Russian diplomatic missions in the United States lies in the abnormal situation whereby the local authorities in Washington and New York provide a paltry number of parking spaces near our missions."

In this situation the Foreign Ministry adheres to a logical and sensible policy. The host side has entirely specific commitments for ensuring normal conditions for the functioning of diplomatic missions. That does of course include giving unimpeded opportunity for the mission's official automobiles to park in the immediate vicinity of the mission.

Of course, when necessary we also count on the aid of the Moscow authorities, but we prefer a calm but firm solution of daily problems on the basis of strict reciprocity rather than methods of elucidating relations in the communal kitchen.

Negotiator Welcomes Kazakhstan's Accession to NPT

LD1412183693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others, from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Russia welcomes Kazakhstan's joining the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty [NPT] as a denuclearized state, the chief Russian negotiator at the talks with Kazakhstan, Gennadiy Uranov, told INTERFAX.

Almaty ratified the START-I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol back in July last year, but delayed its joining the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty for a long time, he said. "Now this problem has been resolved, which laid the foundations for stepping up the talks between Russia and Kazakhstan, including negotiations on cooperation in the military area," the diplomat said.

Another senior Foreign Ministry official, who is also responsible for Russia's relations with Kazakhstan, told INTERFAX that Kazakhstan's joining the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and the U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's visit to Almaty were not coincidental. "The fact that the U.S.A. allocates money for nuclear disarmament in Kazakhstan evidently influenced the step taken by the Kazakh leadership," he said.

He also said that the success scored at the parliamentary elections in Russia by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party "may somewhat complicate relations between Russia and Kazakhstan." "Zhirinovsky's territorial and other claims on Almaty are known well enough," he concluded.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds News Briefing

More Citizens Evacuated From Algeria

LD1412155093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Aleksandr Krylovich, ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 14 December, TASS—"Sixty-nine members of the families of officials of Russian organisations in Algeria are flying back to Moscow today," head of the information and press directorate of the Russian Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing here today.

According to Karasin, some 200 people were evacuated from Algeria on December 11 and 13 due to the reign of terrorism unlaunched there by Islamic fundamentalists.

Most of the women and children, as well as some specialists, will be flown home by the end of the year.

The situation in Algeria Karasin said, remains on the whole complicated. However, it "must not be overdramatised." The evacuation is being carried out according to a fixed scheduled and in a well-organised manner. Proper assistance is being given to the evacuated both in Algeria, where the local authorities are going out of their way to help them, and in Moscow. The Foreign Ministry and other agencies that now have representatives in Algeria are meeting the evacuees at the airport and providing them with hotel accommodation.

Regrets UN Stand on FRY Gas Supply

LD1412173993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1441 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Aleksandr Krylovich, ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 14 December—Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, today expressed regret in connection with the lack of consensus in the UN Sanctions Committee on the issue of the resumption of Russian gas supplies to Yugoslavia for heating hospitals, children's homes, schools, and housing.

Having at the time taken the decision to impose sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], he stressed, the Security Council is assuming that in this way the principal aim will be achieved—not permitting Belgrade's participation in the internal Bosnian conflict on the side of one of the communities of this state and forcing the FRY to assist in a political settlement. The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman believes that "sanctions have been effective enough to achieve these aims. Positive changes in Belgrade's actions are there for all to see."

G. Karasin believes that in these conditions attempts to step up economic pressure on Serbia and Montenegro "can hardly qualify as a sincere striving to assist in a settlement of the Bosnian crisis." With the onset of the cold, the use of sanctions will result in additional suffering for the civilian population. In requesting the UN Sanctions Committee permission to deliver natural gas to the FRY, Russia is acting out of humanitarian motives and seeking to avoid subjecting hundreds of thousands of people to harsh ordeals.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Russia's consistent stance has been meeting with growing understanding on the part of the Sanctions Committee members. Taking this into account, the Russian delegation intends in the next few days to continue searching for ways of resolving the most acute humanitarian problems in Bosnia.

Urges Romanian Action on Missions' Situation

LD1412185293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1519 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The situation around Russian missions in Romania—the embassy in Bucharest and the consulate in Constanta—is still far from normal, the Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Press and Information Department Grigoriy Karasin said at Tuesday's [14 December] briefing.

Russia's missions are besieged by picketers "who allow themselves to make insulting and disparaging pronouncements toward Russian personnel." This was prompted by the trial of the Ilascu group in Tiraspol and by the sentence passed on them "with which Russia has nothing to do," Karasin said.

According to him, Russia's ambassador to Bucharest has repeatedly requested the local authorities to ensure appropriate conditions for the work of the Russian mission and to end the provocation of Russian nationals. "On December 10th in Moscow an oral representation was made to the Romanian ambassador, and the following day the Foreign Ministry presented to him a note with the demand that resolute measures be taken at once to normalize the situation," he said. "In its return note of December 13th the Romanian embassy in Moscow said that all the necessary measures had been taken. At the same time the note pointed out that the demonstrations and the campaign in the local news media had been initiated by non-governmental political and public associations for whose activity the Romanian leadership allegedly cannot be responsible."

"We expect that Romanian authorities will fulfill their promise to normalize the situation and take more effective steps to ensure normal living and working conditions for the Russian embassy and its staff," the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Warns Moldova Hampering Settlement

LD1412203293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The attempts of Moldova's officials to interpret arbitrarily the international agreements signed at the highest level may hamper the urgent settlement of the problems emerged in the region. This was stated by official representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Grigoriy Karasin when commenting on the statement of Moldova's acting Foreign Minister, Ion Botnaru. According to the Moldova's acting foreign minister, the meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers in Rome has decided that withdrawal of the Russian troops "must not be synchronized with the settlement of other issues as Russia sees this."

According to Karasin, the CSCE Rome document points out that progress in the settlement of the issue concerning withdrawal of the Russian troops cannot be conditioned by settlement of any other issue, however, the current situation should be taken into consideration. "Primarily, this means agreement on the principles for the peace settlement of the Transdniestrian conflict of July 21, 1992, and the agreements between the Russian and the Moldovan presidents of May 15, this year," he emphasized. "In accordance with the agreement mentioned in the communique, the terms for the withdrawal of the troops from Moldova's territory will be synchronized with the political settlement of the conflict and determination of a special status for Moldova's Transdniestrian region."

Military Cooperation Agreement Signed With Poland

LD1412150593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1155 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Sergey Ostanin, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 14 December, TASS—Russo-Polish relations in the military field have been developing successfully. This was stated at a meeting in Moscow today between Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of general staff of the Russian Armed Forces, and General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of general staff of the Polish army, who is currently on a working visit to the Russian capital.

In the course of the talks the two generals discussed a wide spectrum of issues concerning interaction between the armed forces of both countries in the spirit of the agreement "on cooperation in the military field" signed by the defense ministers of Russia and Poland in summer of 1993, a spokesman for the information and press department of the Defense Ministry of the Russian Federation told ITAR-TASS.

According to the same source, the chiefs of general staffs signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of military communications, the order of the mutual use of the air space of Russia and Poland by military air vehicles, and on cooperation in ensuring security of navigation in the zones of responsibility in the Baltic Sea.

Sweden Steps Up Border Security To Find Stolen Fuel Rods

PM1412151393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Marat Zubko: "Alarm in Northern Sweden"]

[Text] Helsinki—Swedish television has reported that customs posts throughout northern Sweden have been ordered to show heightened vigilance because the country's authorities do not rule out the possibility that fuel rods stolen from the nuclear submarine base in Murmansk recently could be shipped across the Swedish border.

Last week the official organs in neighboring Norway announced in the press that they had received information from the Russian authorities about the theft of the three rods. Both Norwegian and Swedish experts believe that the enriched uranium contained in them could be used to manufacture atomic bombs.

Commentary Urges Compromise on DPRK Nuclear Issue

SK1512070393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Commentary by (Ivgeniy Krishchin) from the "Sunday Weekly Review of Situation" program]

[Text] Referring to the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula, station commentator (Ivgeniy Krishchin) writes:

Pyongyang has declared that it is willing to open its facilities to the proposed international inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency. This gives rise to considerable repercussions.

This willingness expressed by Pyongyang should be welcomed, for this will be a step forward in resolving the stalemate caused by the DPRK's refusal to permit nuclear inspection.

The United States is consulting with its allies over this issue. Yet one thing is clear, in a situation where tension prevails military threat or pressure by force is not desirable. It is natural that the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula cannot be resolved completely under conditions of mounting tension between Pyongyang and Seoul. Therefore, a compromise plan that is acceptable to both sides should be found.

It is not the time to (?blame) North Korea only. The United States and Seoul are an object of suspicion to Pyongyang. Among other things, Pyongyang suspects that they will continue with joint military exercises. Under these circumstances, the ROK Government has announced that if the DPRK accepts international inspection of its nuclear sites, it will cancel the annual Team Spirit joint military exercise. Mutual concession and compromise will bring forth good results, says station commentator (Ivgeniy Krishchin).

Chernomyrdin Approves Visa Procedures for PRC Travelers

PM1412150993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Visa Regime for Chinese Citizens"]

[Text] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has approved a visa procedure for the entry, exit, and transit across Russian Federation territory of PRC citizens holding official general civilian passports for travel abroad.

Political Issues

Government Leaders' 14 Dec Activities Reported

PM1512112393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Executive Branch: Monitoring"]

[Text]

Council of Ministers Workday

On 14 December Viktor Chernomyrdin, head of the Russian Government, met U.S. Vice President Albert Gore. The preliminary program for the U.S. vice president's visit to the Russian capital includes discussion with the Russian leadership of questions of joint cooperation between the two countries in the spheres of space, science, and the environment. He will meet with representatives of Russian business circles and visit the Flight Control Center in Kaliningrad.

During the morning of 14 December First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets held a conference on the work of the Russian Federation State Committee for Machine Building and Servicing of Agriculture and the Food and Processing Industry. During the afternoon a sitting of the Commission on Operational Questions was held under the chairmanship of Oleg Soskovets. It examined problems in organizing the "Uralskiye Zavody" [Urals Plants] financial and industrial group, progress in implementing the government's decisions on support for enterprises in the timber industry complex, and also measures to stabilize the export of timber and paper products. Vice Premiers Boris Fedorov, Anatoliy Chubays, and Yuriy Yarov and members of the Council of Ministers took part in the commission's sitting.

First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar held a sitting of the "Russia's Choice" bloc.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin took part in the welcome ceremony for U.S. Vice President Albert Gore.

Vice President [as published] Aleksandr Zaveryukha held a conference on customs import tariffs on production.

During the morning Vice President [as published] Anatoliy Chubays received Jeffrey Sachs, U.S. adviser on questions of privatization in Russia. During the afternoon Anatoliy Chubays took part in the sitting of the Commission on Operational Questions.

Vice President [as published] Yuriy Yarov took part in the sitting of the "Russia's Choice" bloc and in the sitting of the Commission on Operational Questions during the afternoon.

Personnel

By edict of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin Valeriy Kenyaykin has been appointed Russian Federation ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Italian Republic and also the Republic of San Marino.

The following appointments have been made by directive of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government:

Igor Kuzmin, Russian Federation trade representative in the United Republic of Tanzania;

Yuriy Shatyrenko, chairman of the Russian Federation Social Insurance Fund. Yuriy Shatyrenko has been relieved of the post of Russian Federation deputy minister of labor.

Ministry Expects More Crime, Develops Prevention Program

LD1412190693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—The Russian annual crime rate may amount to some 30 million crimes within a few years, head of the Russian Interior Ministry's Academy Major-General Anatoliy Alekseyev told a briefing at the Interior Ministry today, referring to forecasts of specialists.

Now it is estimated at three million crimes. "Unfortunately, we will have to pay with a crime rate increase for our freedoms. The task of the interior bodies is to prevent the crimes," stressed the general.

The Interior Ministry's Academy will train specialists to negotiate with possible plane hijackers or hostage takers and officers of the interior troops. It has elaborated a regional program against crime, which is used by many Russian territories and areas.

Housing Offered to Ministry Troops

LD1412203893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2028 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Moscow mayor's office has resolved to offer housing for those servicemen of the Dzerzhinskiy Division of the Russian Interior Ministry who do not have flats to reward them for prevention of terrorist acts, releases of hostages and fighting the organized crime.

They will be offered a total of 3,500 square meters of housing. Three billion rubles will be taken from the city's budget to pay for the housing.

Interior Ministry Thwarts Illegal Arms Export Attempt

LD1412173893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1623 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Dec—Staff of the main directorate for economic crimes of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia and their St. Petersburg colleagues have thwarted an attempt to illegally export 21,000 Makarov pistols and 4.5 million live rounds of ammunition. The public relations center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation told the ITAR-TASS correspondent today that with a view to making unlicensed deliveries of this cargo, the smugglers, who were only recently uncovered, had drawn up fictitious documents for the weapons and ammunition, classifying them as being for hunting and sports' purposes. They intended selling this arsenal at prices three to four times lower than world prices.

Plan for 'Watchdog' of Power Ministries Rumored

PM1412165793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 2

[Igor Chernyak article under "Military Review" rubric: "Comrade Officers! Your Tongues Are Wagging"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Power Ministers—Under Observation

The report about Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's intention to introduce in the government the post of a vice premier (first vice premier in other reports) who will supervise the power ministries was greeted with much caution in the top circles of the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Thus, a number of high-ranking employees of the General Staff assess the introduction of such a watchdog [kuratorstvo] as a sign of serious mistrust of the power ministers. The military are also noting that such a step will also mean a depreciation of the role of the Security Council, whose functions include, apart from everything else, supervising the ministries ensuring the state's security. Analysts at the General Staff are not ruling out the possibility that the next step may be the introduction of the post of minister of national security.

It is risky to say the least to construct any predictions about who will be the power vice premier, given the traditional unpredictability of current personnel policy. However, as has become known from sources in the Russian Armed Forces General Staff, the candidacies of Pavel Grachev's deputy, Army General Konstantin Kobets, and also Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, former commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, are being eyed for the post of watchdog for the ministries of defense, security, and internal affairs. According to the sources' information, Major General Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the Main Legal Directorate, is also not averse to joining the ranks of contenders, but, according to their predictions, his confirmation in this post is nevertheless unlikely. At any rate, one conclusion is obvious: If a decision is adopted, the power ministers will find themselves under threefold observation—the president, the vice premier, and the Security Council will all be able to monitor their activity. And nevertheless, the mistrust of Pavel Grachev, Nikolay Golushko, and Viktor Yerin is not entirely clear, particularly if you recall that one of them became a Hero of Russia recently, while the other two have been awarded the highest Russian orders.

In Expectation of Counterrevolutionaries

According to information from sources in the apparatus of Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, commander of the Russian Federation Border Guard Troops, the border guards can scarcely make ends meet today. Despite the fact that the prime minister has made a decision on allocating funds to them, the Ministry of Finance has refused to carry it out. As a result, there are only barely enough funds to pay the soldiers manning the border posts and for minimal food purchases.

The situation looks particularly alarming if you recall Andrey Nikolayev's recent statement that he does not rule out armed breaches of the Russian border by bandit formations in the near future—it is expected that as the border and customs control is reinforced, criminal structures will seek out new ways of moving contraband. Border guard officers are under strength by 7,000 men. According to the sources, in this situation refusing to allocate the border guard troops money for the purchase of more or less state-of-the-art weapons and ammunition, not to mention the maintenance of technical resources, means to increase many times over the threat to the lives of the border guards who remain at the posts. It is hard to disagree with the officers: Does the example of the border detail shot by the Afghan mojahedin not teach us anything?

Military Issues

Yeltsin Adviser Outlines Plans for Arms Exports

PM1412155993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Sychev: "By Trading in Sophisticated Weapons Russia Hopes To Earn $10-12 Billion"]

[Text] Russia intends to increase the production of arms and regain the arms markets it has lost in recent years, Mikhail Maley, the Russian president's adviser for defense matters, stated.

Russian enterprises of the military-industrial complex will henceforth produce just as much as is necessary to equip the national armed forces and for export.

"The share of obsolete models in the arms trade will be reduced as much as possible. We will teach our clients how to control the most modern weapons even before they are dispatched to them," Maley said. "Russia is rapidly being forced out of the arms markets."

In 1987 the Soviet Union set a record, selling arms worth $22.6 billion. At the time the USSR accounted for 38 percent of the world arms trade. According to the figures of the U.S. center for defense information, Russia's share now is equal to only 17 percent.

The United States and other major Western countries producing weapons preach "caution" and "restraint" while blatantly failing to follow these virtues. "They have urged us to drink water while they themselves drink wine," says the military-industrial complex of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which once ranked seventh in the arms dealers' club.

Russia which, according to Maley, has the opportunity of earning $10-12 billion a year from new arms, is obviously also ready to violate the "prohibition." By an edict of the president defense enterprises have been allowed to double their wages fund. "That has been done," Yuriy Chervakov, press secretary of the State Committee for the defense industries, explained, "primarily to halt the outflow of highly skilled young workers. In recent years the Russian defense industry has lost 2 million people." By the president's decision the proportion of investments on scientific developments within the framework of defense expenditure has been increased from 3.5 to 10 percent.

It is impossible to say how much that is in absolute figures. The Russian military industry and trade are seemingly being kept as strictly secret, mainly from Russian citizens, as they were before. Eduard Maksimov, deputy chairman of the "Oboroneksport" foreign trade association, refused to confirm even the $3.5 billion mentioned in official documents as the sum Russia received from arms sales in 1992, merely saying this figure is not entirely accurate.

Military Space Forces Review Year's Launches

PM1512111993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Forty-Seven Booster Rocket Launches Carried Out in Russia This Year"]

[Text] In the first 11 months of this year 47 booster rockets were launched in Russia, one of which, that of a "Proton" booster, ended in failure.

Of that total 46 launches were carried out by the Russian Federation Military Space Forces and just one—the converted "START I" booster rocket—was launched by the Strategic Missile Forces. This was stated at the Military Space Forces press center. In all 58 space craft were put into orbit, including 21 "dual-purpose" and national economic craft. However, the total number of satellites of various types now in orbit under the control of the Military-Space Forces is over 180.

Servicemen Reassured on Continuing Tax Exemption

PM1512103593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "From Authoritative Sources" rubric: "Tax Will Not Be Deducted"]

[Text] The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office is being contacted by servicemen concerned by the rumors that the Russian Federation president has authorized the deduction of income tax from pay and allowances.

The Russian Federation Defense Ministry Military Budget and Finance Main Directorate has reported that on 11 December 1993 the Russian Federation president signed Edict No. 2129 "On Settling Certain Questions Concerning the Taxation of Individuals." This was apparently the document that prompted the unfounded rumors. But the previous taxation procedure still applies to servicemen; that is, they are exempt from paying income tax on pay and other allowances they receive in connection with the performance of military service duties.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Exempts Gas Industry From Import Duties

LD1412154593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1456 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Belyayev]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has exempted the "Gazprom" (gas industry) association from import duties on equipment, materials and other goods purchased to stabilise and develop this sector of the national economy. The president's decision opens up new technical and economic opportunities for the gas industry, which delivers raw materials and fuel to thousands of addresses in Russia, the CIS countries, and several other foreign states.

The Russian gas industry launched a programme more than two years ago to cut the traditional purchases of foreign technologies and materials that are not produced at all or manufactured in very small quantities by the Russian industry. The programme envisages the participation in it of defence enterprises and the launching of joint ventures with foreign firms. The production of several machines and instruments of a new generation has already been mastered in Russia. Specialists claim that the cost of traditional purchases of foreign goods has decreased by 180-200 million U.S. dollars this year. However, foreign-made equipment is still needed to modernise and develop the gas industry.

In order to increase the effectiveness of the use of natural gas, the "Gazprom" board has decided to organise the poduction of polyethelene in the northern Tyumen

Region. Equipment for it will be deliverd by the German BASF concern. "Gazprom" will now have to pay less for the necessary equipment than initially planned. Work will soon be started in Archangel to build a methanol plant. This product is in stable demand on the world market. Equipment for the plant will be supplied by a group of german enterprises led by the "Ferrostahl" firm.

The president's decree is particularly important for the Hungarian plant in Nagykanizsa, Hungary, which specialists in the production of oil- and gas-extracting equipment. Formerly, this equipment was produced in Azerbaijan. Today, it is hardly possible to expect to get good-quality equipment from Baku. This is why "Gazprom" has found a new supplier in Hungary by buying up more than 50 per cent of its shares.

Large quantities of new equipment to modernise the industry will soon begin to be received by "Gazprom". Italian firms, for instance, will deliver 1,600 million U.S. dollars worth of such equipment. Gazprom's orders are being filled by British, American and Japanese firms, too. It is very important that they will cost much less to "Gazprom" now, after the the presidential decree. The gas industry is today living through quite a difficult period, because clients already owe it almost two trillion roubles.

Shakhray: Land Reform Must Heed Local Demography

PM1412151193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Stolypin Is Our Contemporary"]

[Text] In the opinion of Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, land reform must organically synthesize federal-wide principles and take into account the special features of every component of the Federation, particularly the demographic features. "It is one thing to share out land in the densely populated North Caucasus, and another in Siberia," the deputy premier said.

As S. Shakhray pointed out, if the tendency for the population to decline in parts of the country from the Urals east to Sakhalin continues, then 24 million Russians will be living there by the year 2004 (more than 30 million now). In this connection the vice premier did not rule out the possibility that "we will have to recall another aspect of Stolypin's land reform, namely artificial resettlement—of course, exclusively by means of employing appropriate economic incentives."

Deputy Premier Sees Improved Social Situation

PM1412153593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov article under "Social Policy-94" rubric: "Forward, to the Middle Class"]

[Text] The situation today is very slightly better than last year: The actual substance of monetary incomes has stabilized somewhat, the growth in prices has slowed, and people have started buying more consumer durables. Although we are still below the 1990 level with regard to many indicators, the fact that the rate of decline in certain sectors has slowed is already inspiring optimism. Whereas previously the number of people on incomes below the living wage was growing, this category of the population does not now exceed 32 percent.

I can state with all responsibility: The disastrous situation that we had at the beginning of last year is past. The role of the regions has played its part here—they have started devoting considerably more attention to needy families, to finding jobs for the unemployed, and to working people in the budget-funded sphere. It is also important that the insurance system has at last become realistic. But at the same time we must recognize that there is a great deal of work ahead, although the concept of social development for 1994 has been prepared and submitted for discussion.

This chiefly involves creating conditions for efficient labor ensuring worthy living standards for the whole population, including disabled members of society. We must not permit a further reduction in real incomes but create a mechanism based on a balance among the three main groups: entrepreneurs, hired working people, and disabled citizens.

It is necessary to create incentives for entrepreneurs to operate and to promote the accumulation of capital for the development of the efficient production of goods and services. Hired workers must be ensured a worthy level of material recompense for highly productive labor. They must also have the opportunity for extensive participation in the profits of enterprises through the acquisition of shares and other securities. Incidentally, precisely these two groups of the population must be the basis of the formation of a middle class. Social norms must be established for disabled citizens which will make it possible to ensure acceptable living standards for them and will allow them not to feel dependent.

Angry Bank Depositors Hold Protest Rally

PM1412151993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Yuriy Makhrin: "Picket Outside Government Building"]

[Text] On Saturday [11 December] morning depositors of the Russian Federation Savings Bank, fleeced by the Gaydar government as a result of the liberalization of prices, held a rally in the center of the capital at the monument to the heroes of Plevna. In January 1992 70 million Russians lost savings they had been putting away ruble by ruble for a rainy day or for their old age. In May the Constitutional Court obliged the government to devise a mechanism for the indexation of deposits. But it did not turn a hair.

So the depositors organized a protest rally. First invalids signed a letter to the president which says in part: "We Russian invalids beg you not to destroy us!"

Then the rally participants proceeded with their slogans and placards to the government building on Staraya Square. At first the sentry bellowed at them:

"Get out or I'll smash the camera!"

But on learning they were victims of the liberalization of prices, depositors, he said: "I am a depositor too. Proceed with your rally!"

People were chanting outside the windows of the government: "Give us our money back!" But no one heard them, no one came out.

Protest actions against the robbing of the people will continue until victory is won, Nikolay Plotnikov, who has been disabled since childhood and is a member of the Council of Russian Federation Savings Bank Depositors in Moscow, told your PRAVDA correspondent.

Regional Affairs

Deputy Interior Minister on Situation in Chechnya

LD1012190793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] If one speaks of the hottest topic of the day, this is of course the situaton in Chechnya. Georgiy Savtsov is at the microphone.

[Savtsov] President Yeltsin's recent visit to the northern Caucasus has demonstrated once again that he is a strong politician wishing to unite the country. Nevertheless, at the recent congress of the Confederation of the Peoples of Caucasus, which now also includes Ingushetia, the question of the independence of Russia's autonomous republics in the northern Caucasus was discussed in earnest. And in reply came the statement that Russia is assuming guard of the border with Chechnya and will ensure security and disarmament of gangs.

I requested Russia's First Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Aleksandr Nikolayevich Kulikov, head of the Chief Directorate for the Maintainance of Public Order, to comment on the situation in this region.

[Begin Kulikov recording] Look what is being done. We are detaining Chechnya citizens with counterfeit money by the dozen. So a center for printing this money has appeared there. Is Mr. Dudayev really unaware of this? Trains are being robbed. Violence is being perpetrated. Chechnya's law and order forces are already taking part in these matters. And Mr. Dudayev, instead of taking political and general demarches, would do better to take the reins of running the country in hand and establish order. The Internal Affairs Ministry believes that, yes, the situation is unstable, yes, he is not in control of individual or even small rayons. For this reason, if some measures are taken, then first and foremost they will be taken legally and publicly and we shall, evidently, take under control some roads where this is possible to put a stop to the unchecked export of raw materials and to the unchecked movement of criminal elements. [end recording]

Concern Over Chechen Railway 'Disorder,' Flights

LD1012135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1200 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS observer Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—There is a disorder in Chechnya in railway transport which made the Russian President Boris Yeltsin state on Monday the need to bring under control the highways passing across the territory of this republic.

The command of the anti-aircraft defense troops of Russia is also seriously concerned about violations of order in using air space of the Russian Federation by the Chechen aviation and aircraft carrying out routes in the interests of the republic.

According to data reported to ITAR-TASS by the press service of the anti-aircraft troops today, 19 violations of this kind occurred in 1993, including 7 incidents that happened in October- November this year. In three latest cases the anti-aircraft troops of the Russian Federation had to resort to the help of the fighter force.

Flights of Chechen military and civil planes are taking place without permissions from bodies of control over air traffic and without informing the anti-aircraft troops. Chechen planes make landings at non-planned airfields, change routes without necessary authorization, and aircraft crews do not subordinate to demands by the bodies of control over air traffic. A particular danger is created by light engine aviation whose routes made without appropriate preliminary applications, often coincide with air routes of civil planes which is fraught with extraordinary flight accidents.

According to the same source, Chechnya not only violates Russian legislation on the order of using air space but also the international code adopted by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).

Security Tightened at Railways

LD1412172293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] At the request of the administration of the North-Caucasus Railways, Chechnya's Interior Ministry tightened security at the railways passing through the republic. As INTERFAX was told by the ministry's press center, more than 800 ministry members are engaged in guarding the railways. Their work is coordinated by the Interior Minister and his deputies.

As a result of the latest security measures, in the past two days alone over 50 freight trains were conducted in full safety across Chechnya. Not a single infringement on railway cargoes was allowed.

According to the Interior Ministry, the police is resolved to continue ensuring the safety of cargoes.

At the same time Chechnya's Interior Ministry launched in Grozny an operation codenamed "Tornado" with a view to stepping up the efforts to combat crime and secure law and order. INTERFAX learned this from First Deputy Interior Minister Saipudi Khasanov.

All the local Interior Ministry departments and officials are engaged in the operation. Mobile police units patrol the city's streets.

Eight police posts functioning round-the-clock have been stationed on the perimeter of Chechnya's capital. The operation has resulted in detaining several criminal groups and revealing several dozen crimes, including grave ones. Over 10 firearms and ammunition were confiscated.

Foreign Ministry Official on Border Control in Chechnya

LD1012202993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1512 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Russia proceeds from the assumption that Chechnya is a member of the Russian Federation, and therefore there can be no state border between Russia and Chechnya. When President Boris Yeltsin was speaking about the need to tighten control on the border with Chechnya, he meant Chechnya's administrative border with Ingushetia and other Federation members, Yevgeniy Prokhorov, the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's legal department, told INTERFAX on Friday.

Moscow does not recognize the "visa regime" introduced by Grozny, he stressed. "Not a single member of the Federation, including Chechnya, has the right to establish its own foreign ministry, since foreign policy and international relations belong to the competence of the Federation as a whole," the diplomat said.

According to him, this does not mean, however, that Federation members have no right to establish international ties on their own, or engage in foreign trade. "Karelia, for instance, established a ministry for external economic relations. Seemingly this is not quite in keeping with the old system. But it does not conflict with the Federal Treaty. As for Chechnya, its actions clash with it," Prokhorov said.

In contrast with the former USSR, members of the Russian Federation have no right to establish diplomatic relations with anyone or take part in the work of international organizations directly. "The former Soviet republics had foreign ministries of their own. That was their constitutional right. As for the members of the Russian Federation, neither the constitution nor the Federal Treaty give them this right," the diplomat said.

According to him, it is in the competence of Federation members to establish economic, cultural and cross-border ties in the areas where this does not run counter to federal laws. Prokhorov referred by way of an example to the ties maintained by the Finno-Ugric autonomies in the Volga River valley with Finland and Hungary.

Chechen Official Hopes Yeltsin Prevents 'Tight Borders'

LD1012221993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2001 GMT 10 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow December 10 TASS—"The people of sovereign Chechnya sincerely hope that the Russian president vested with power and having a mandate of the Russian people's confidence, who had not lost a single political battle to his opponents and possesses an analytical mind will be able to undo the Caucasian knot by using political weapons and prevent the establishment of tight borders around Chechnya under the pretext of preventing the spead of unrest to the entire Caucasus," said Yaragiy Mamodayev, the prime minister of "the government of people's confidence" in opposition to Dzhokhar Dudayev. Mamodayev appeared in a news programme broadcast by Ostankino Television on Friday [10 December].

Mamodayev distanced himself from a statement made by Dzhokhar Dudayev alleging that "resolutions taken by the Russian president are tantamount to Russia's declaration of war against Chechnya."

"It is beyond doubt that such a blockade will primarily affect people engaged in the sphere of industry and will further worsen the difficult situation of the multinational population. We have always been together and shall do so in historic perspective, but first, we have to feel our sovereignty to find our own place in the world," Mamodayev said.

Caucasian Official Offers Special Status for Chechnya

LD1112153993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1455 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] The President of the Caucasian Nations Confederation Yuri Shanibov has criticized the Russian leadership for exerting pressure on Chechnya.

"This spirit pervades the decision adopted in Nalchik earlier in the week by North Caucasian leaders at a meeting with President Yeltsin on establishing a 'solid' border between Russia and Chechnya. This also follows from the final statement, where Chechnya is described as the key factor of instability in North Caucasus as a whole", Shanibov noted in an interview with Interfax.

In Shanibov's opinion, the situation could be settled by giving Chechnya a special status. He suggests that if the Russian leadership stop its propaganda against Chechnya and lift the economic blockade of Chechnya, the situation over the republic could be settled much quicker.

More than that, given a smooth negotiating process, Chechnya could join CIS and integrate with the Russian federation with some status.

"Russia's military intervention in Chechnya could trigger off a second Caucasian war", Shanibov warned.

Views Caucasus Parliament Session, Yeltsin Visit

MK1112134593 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 21-23, 10-16 Dec 93 (Signed to press 10 Dec) p 2

[Seyfali Akhundov report under the "Opinion" rubric: "They Gamble on Strength"]

[Text] The arrival of the country's leader om the Caucasus coincided with the closing in Groznyy of the Extraordinary Congress of Peoples of the Caucasus. "Is the coincidence of the two events random?" your OBSHCHAYA GAZETA correspondent asked Musa Shanibov, president of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus.

[Shanibov] More likely than not. We decided to hold the congress two months ago, at the session of the Caucasus Parliament. Compared with the two previous ones, this congress proved to have been the most representative. Despite the absence of Ossetia's delegation, we passed a resolution on the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. We reached complete agreement on an extremely negative attitude to the new draft Russian constitution. Out of the 16 peoples comprising the Confederation, Chechnya alone demands full independence in regard to Russia. All the rest are for being in the Russian Federation—but a federation, rather than the semblance of one offered to us in the new constitution. We also decided that should the Georgian side not prefer to solve the Abkhaz problem by peaceful means, the reply of the Congress of Peoples of the Caucasus would be military. We also decreed to appeal to the Russian Federation president that Khasbulatov should be freed from behind bars till the investigation ends.

Unfortunately, it is accepted in the Russian leadership today that the solution of any problems must be by force, which graphically manifested itself at the White House in October.

In the North Caucasus, too, the president gambles on the military. Who came here along with Yeltsin? People with shoulder boards. We do not see in them the qualities necessary to unravel the knots of differences, rather than cut them with a bloody sword. We said at the Congress of Peoples of the Caucasus: The president and his men came to get the local authorities' consent formally for toughening the policy of force.

Ingush President Comments on Yeltsin Trip

MK1112135593 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 21/23, 10-16 Dec (Signed to press 9 Dec) p 2

[Interview with Ingush President Ruslan Aushev by Rodion Morozov under the "A Call to the President" rubric; date not given: "It Is Hard Even To Fight in Winter"]

[Text] Problems in the North Caucasus have been entangled in so tight a web that the Russian president decided to visit the state of emergency area in North Ossetia and Ingushetia in person; he was particularly concerned by the problem of refugees. We asked Ruslan Aushev, president of the Republic of Ingushetia, to share his impressions from the visit with us.

[Morozov] Yeltsin's decision to visit the North Caucasus on the eve of the elections for the Russian Federal Assembly came as a surprise to many observers. Did you know about the president's intentions?

[Aushev] Yes, I did. Slightly more than a week ago, while in Moscow, I was received by Yeltsin. We spoke at length about the situation in the state of emergency area, about the plight of refugees, and the president said that he would make a trip to the North Caucasus in the near future and would try to assess all the problems on the spot. He wanted to do this, however, after the elections. I, for my part, tried to convince him that the trip could not be put off any longer: The situation is serious and he had to go right now. Boris Nikolayevich agreed.

[Morozov] They say that the president had a lengthy closed-door conversation with you and Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet. Can you reveal at least a little bit of what was under discussion there?

[Aushev] Just the same things, mainly about a procedure for the return of refugees to Prigorodnyy Rayon. I expressed my view, Galazov had a diametrically opposed one, so we did not manage to reach common ground. I said that winter has set in and that more than 60,000 people are homeless, that they have to huddle in wooden wagons for construction workers. Galazov responded: No hasty decision should be made or ill-conceived steps taken. We ostensibly need to hold yet another series of talks, to wait until "wounds are healed." It is understandable that Galazov is not independent in his political decisions and that the Ossetian opposition has been pressuring him hard, but what I do not understand is why people have to suffer because of this.

In the end, the Russian president began contemplating an idea that the return of refugees must indeed start at once. Then I suggested that Yeltsin make a trip with us around Prigorodnyy Rayon so that he could see the situation there for himself. We boarded a helicopter and flew around the entire area in a couple of hours. The president got out and spoke with people, he saw how they lived; he saw destroyed, looted houses. To all appearances, then he definitively made up his mind: There is no procrastinating about the problem refugees any longer.

[Morozov] Can we assume then that things have finally gotten off the ground?

[Aushev] At any rate, the president promised to sign a corresponding edict as early as the beginning of next week. Appropriate instructions, as far as I know, have been given to chiefs of the power ministries—how to ensure the resettlement of the refugees and how to take care of their security. The first settlements to which the Ingush may return have also been specified—the villages of Chermen, Dachnoye, Kurtat, and Dongorak. Appropriations for construction have been made. We'll see. I would like very much to believe that life is gradually getting back to normal.

[Morozov] Is it right that "in exchange" for the return of refugees Ingushetia decided to give up its rights to Prigorodnyy Rayon?

[Aushev] By no means. The simple reason is that winter is not the best season for resolving territorial problems. Particularly for those who have been left homeless.

Decree on Returning North Ossetia Refugees

LD1312202493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on Monday providing for the return of refugees to the places of their permanent residence in North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

The decree instructs the councils of ministers of the Russian Federation, North Ossetia and Ingushetia to take, beginning in December, measures to return and resettle refugees and displaced persons to the places of their permanent residence, at the initial stage to the villages of Chermen, Dongaron, Dachnoye and Kurtat in the Prigorod district of North Ossetia.

Galazov Chairs Discussion on Edict

LD1412232793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1744 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 14 Dec—Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia, today chaired a joint session of the presidiums of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers and the Security Council of the republic, with the participation of the head of provisional administration Vladimir Lozovoy. The session focused on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's edict "Concerning the procedure for the return of refugees and those forced to resettle to areas of permanent residence on the territories of the republic of North Ossetia and the republic of Ingushetia."

Akhsarbek Galazov, who spoke at the session, said that today he held a telephone conversation with the Russian president concerning a mechanism for the implementation of the presidential edict. It is the view of the chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet that forcing through the process of the return of Ingush refugees to four populated areas of Prigorodnyy rayon and a resolution of this issue by force can only lead to a new tragedy.

Those who took part in the session said that all these complex problems have to be resolved on the level of conciliatory commissions, set up in the rayon's populated areas. In this context, the Russian president's edict of 13 December 1993, which aims to normalize the situation in the zone of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, may play a negative role, sparking off inter-ethnic clashes.

Vladimir Lozovoy head of the provisional administration, said at the meeting that the Ossetian-Ingush conflict must be solved by peaceful means. As for the return and the resettling of refugees and forced migrants in areas of their former residence, this problem must be solved on the basis of the president's edict "On the procedure for the return to areas of permanent residence of refugees and forced migrants on the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia."

The meeting adopted an appeal to the Russian president. It states in particular that the North Ossetian leadership supports Boris Yeltsin's desire to settle the relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia, and is adopting measures aimed at a comprehensive solution to the problem of refugees and migrants. The North Ossetian leadership appeals to the Russian president to keep the promises he had made during his visit to North Caucasus to repeal articles three and six of the "Law on rehabilitation of repressed nations," to settle the problem of refugees and migrants without recourse to force, and to speed up the publication of a political and legal assessment of the tragedy that took place in Prigorodnyy rayon in October-November 1992.

Galazov Reads Appeal to Yeltsin

LD1412213893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2055 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 14 TASS—North Ossetian leader Akhsarbek Galazov made a televised address to the population tonight to inform them of results of Boris Yeltsin's trip to the Northern Caucasus and social-political situation in the light of Yeltsin's decree on return of ethnic Ingush refugees to populated localities of the North Ossetian Prigorodny region.

Galazov cited an appeal of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet president and the Presidium of the Republican Council of Ministers to the Russian president. The appeal says the following:

"The multi-national people of Northern Ossetia took the decree with alarm. Residents of the Prigorodny region hold spontaneous rallies to express their categoric disagreement with the attempt of immediate return of ethnic Ingushes.

"Supporting the need to comprehensively settle the refugee problem in Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia, we think it is inadmissible to boost the return of persons who left populated localities during bloody clashes, which resulted in numerous victims and destructions.

"In the current situation any attempt to settle the complicated problem with force methods will inevitably result in another bloodshed and postpone even more the time of conflict settlement.

"The North Ossetian leadership together with the temporary administration are working to settle the refugee problem in accordance with Kislovodsk agreements. Conciliatory commissions have been formed and started to work in each populated locality, forms and methods of citizen diplomacy are actively used.

"The decree confirms the status of the Prigorodny region as part of North Ossetian territory. At the same time, Ingushetia does not give up its territorial claims on Northern Ossetia, which was confirmed by Ingush President Ruslan Aushev at a news conference on December 8.

"Proceeding from the need to preserve peace and stability in the Northern Caucasus, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the North Ossetian Republic request you to prevent the use of force methods in solution of the refugee return problem and make public the political and legal estimation of the tragic events on territory of Northern Ossetia in October-November 1992..."

Procedure Approved To Expel Illegal Visitors From Moscow

LD1312161793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has approved a procedure on the expulsion from the Russian capital of visitors breaking the regulations on temporary residence in the city in effect since November 15.

Under the directive, a person arrested for violating the regulations may be held in custody for no longer than 72 hours, after which he must be sent back to his permanent place of residence by railway. The ticket is to be bought by the police, but the offender must pay for it. If he has no money for this, the cost of the ticket is to be paid by the police. The offender must be taken to the railway station by police who must give his ticket to the attendant of the carriage in which he will be traveling.

According to the press center of the Mayor's Office, several thousand people have been fined over the past month for breaking the temporary residence regulations. The fines ranged in size, from twice to fifty times the minimum wage.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Local Government in Moscow

LD1112153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1448 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on December 10 "on basic principles of administrative and territorial division and organisation of local self-government in the city of Moscow."

The decree, circulated by the presidential press service on Saturday [11 December], endorsed the temporary regulations concerning the basic principles of administrative and territorial division in Moscow as a subject of the Russian Federation—a city of federal status.

Bodies of state power in Moscow have been instructed to work out and adopt in January-February 1994 legislative enactments regulating the procedure for reforming the system of local self-government in the capital. The decree comes into effect from the day it is published and will be submitted to the Federal Assembly.

Yeltsin Decree Grants Privileges to Kaliningrad Region

WS1312160693 Tallinn BNS in English 1346 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec 11, BNS—On December 08, President Yeltsin passed the decree on the Kaliningrad Region, the newspaper Kaliningradskaya Pravda announced on Friday [10 December] with reference to official sources. The decree grants this region privileges with due account taken of its geopolitical situation.

This newspaper also published head of the local administration Yuriy Matochkin's commentaries to the decree.

He writes that the presidential decree is a major step forward in the solution of the problems facing the Kaliningrad Region and in strengthening the local bodies' independence, particularly in handling the problems of the land reform and foreign trade.

The decree says, writes Matochkin, that the local budget will be subsidized and that during the next 10 years the Kaliningrad Region will be given subventions for financing regional programs.

He also writes that it ensures a breakthrough in the distribution of the land. The procedure of allotting plots of land for the implementation of federal and interregional and regional programs shall be defined by the local bodies of state authority, while the confiscation of plots of land shall be carried out by agreement with the regional administration.

The procedure of registering joint ventures and issuing of permits for opening foreign companies' missions will be simplified. Exports will be freed from customs duties, while imports from the VAT [value added tax] for a period of 10 years.

Matochkin writes that the local administration will have broader rights in pursuing property-related and customs policies, and in running nature preserves.

He announced that all of the federal property located in the region's territory, except railways and defense and security installations, will be made the Kaliningrad Region's state property.

All international agreements dealing with transit and other vitally important issues will be coordinated with the local administration.

Stories of Nuclear Danger in Kalingrad 'Hoax'

PM1012205593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Yevgeniy Solomenko report: "No Nuclear Criminals Discovered in Kaliningrad"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—Two articles that have appeared recently in the Russian press have the potential to sow panic among the people of a number of countries and cause a major international furor. They present their readers with a "megatonne" sensation: A breakdown situation has developed at five nuclear weapons storage facilities located on Russia's western border near Kaliningrad. These items also reported another rather sinister episode: Apparently, the chief engineer at the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Station "was caught introducing a virus that he had developed himself into the computer that regulates the station's work; his intention was to knock out the security system."

Moreover, this staggering information came from a fully competent official source—Dmitriy Sorokin, chief of the Russian Gosatomnadzor [Federal Inspectorate for Nuclear and Radiation Safety] North European District Inspectorate—who, it is alleged, had just carried out an inquiry into defense storage facilities off his own bat. These articles, which quoted the ECO DEFENCE INFORM information bulletin published in Kaliningrad, were published by the SEA digest.

More than anyone else, the people who were most shocked by these sensational reports were...the actual staff of Gosatomnadzor's North European District.

A special investigation was commissioned by the district leadership. It showed that the clamorous "facts" cited in the interview were actually arrant nonsense. It turned out that Dmitriy Sorokin had of course not inspected the local military storage facilities. And he had not made any statements to the press.

Who would have benefited by organizing such a provocative hoax? Here is the view of Yuriy Khripunov, chief public relations specialist with Gosatomnadzor's North European District:

"The information (or, to be more precise, disinformation) fed to the correspondent was given out by a man impersonating Sorokin. We have 'figured out' this impostor. To be more precise, he is a businessman from Kaliningrad who in exchange for good money would take radiation pollution measurements of dacha plots and market goods without having appropriate permission to do so, without possessing a specially certified apparatus, and without having the slightest professional knowledge in the field of radiation monitoring. Sorokin had unmasked this enterprising shyster and brought his illegal 'business' to a halt. Whereupon the latter clearly decided to take revenge on the chief of the inspectorate in such an elegant manner."

But it is still too early to close the file on this story for another reason. Even having exposed this scandalous disinformation, Gosatomnadzor finds itself unable to calm public opinion. Because Gosatomnadzor itself does not know the real state of our nuclear defense storage facilities, are they not fraught with the danger of full-blown accidents? Unfortunately, nobody knows whether this is true except the military themselves who are religiously keeping their military-departmental secret and do not allow Gosatomnadzor inspectors into their installations.

Meanwhile, back on 5 June 1992, the Russian president approved the Statute on Gosatomnadzor: "Gosatomnadzor...makes decisions within the limits of its competence which are binding for...military units stationed on Russian Federation territory...."

And on 9 April 1993 a new presidential directive was published. It states the task even more specifically: "Before 1 December 1993 Russian Gosatomnadzor is to investigate enterprises, organizations, and military units...under the Russian Ministry of Defense in order to check the maintenance of nuclear and radiation safety."

But neither the first nor the second directive from the state's highest executive officer was implemented.

International Affairs

Kravchuk, Snegur Meet, Hold News Conference

LD1512015093 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2240 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 14 Dec—A joint news conference by the presidents of Ukraine and Moldova took place on the outcome of the two-day official visit by Mircea Snegur, president of Moldova. Leonid Kravchuk emphasized that Ukraine views Moldova as one of the partners with which it will build good-neighborly relations both from the political and the economic aspects, and so will be supporting its statehood as a matter of principle. Snegur stressed that interest in cooperation with Ukraine is very great. Moldova will be coming out in favor of establishing the widest possible contacts with Ukraine.

At the talks, the sides achieved accords regarding the export and import of goods and also resolved the issue of ownership on the territory of both states. Snegur expressed gratitude to Kravchuk regarding his stance on issues connected with peaceful settlement of the aftermath of the armed conflict in the Dniester region. In spite of all the endeavors and concessions by the government of Moldova,—Snegur noted—the tension in the region remains, and so Ukraine's stance is very important.

The stance of both presidents regarding preliminary results of elections to the State Duma of Russia called forth great interest from journalists. The president of Ukraine stressed that the situation cannot but cause alarm not only for Ukraine, but for Russia too. However, President Kravchuk recalled that the initiative for democratic transformations came namely from Russia. Kravchuk believes that official statements can be made when election platforms and slogans become the state policy of the Russian Federation.

Further on News Conference

LD1512100593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev [no date as received]—Moldova's President Mircea Snegur ended his visit to Ukraine yesterday. In a concluding news conference, both presidents spoke in favor of further developing bilateral relations. "Ukraine supports Moldova's state unity," [Ukrainian President] Leonid Kravchuk assured the news conference. He added: "What status the regions and the Dniester region in particular will have, is up to Moldova, since it pertains to its internal affairs. If necessary, Ukraine is prepared to act as a mediator to settle that issue."

Mircea Snegur described his first official visit to Ukraine as fruitful and stressed that he hopes wide-ranging reforms will be carried out by both states. He also expressed hope that ratification of the START-1 treaty will bring about Ukraine's earliest possible attainment of nonnuclear status. As for the elections in Russia, Mircea Snegur acknowledged that their preliminary results were unexpected. "This is a signal to all the democratic forces of what can happen when dangerous trends are underestimated."

Leonid Kravchuk promised that he will be able to make a conclusion as soon as he knows the final results but he admitted that "there is anxiety not as much for Ukraine as for the very Russia where the first Declaration of Sovereignty in the former Soviet Union was adopted." "It is now about straightforward revanchism and I hope that the course toward an empire will not become Russia's state concept," the Ukrainian president declared.

The concluding news conference outlined priority spheres of relations between Ukraine ad Moldova, which are, in particular, political cooperation in settling the conflict situation in the Dniester region, improving economic links, harmonizing mutual customs relations, and mutual support and collaboration between Ukraine and Moldova within the framework of the United Nations and the CSCE.

U.S. Offers Aid for Ratifying START I Treaty

LD1412221193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The United States has agreed to offer Ukraine economic aid worth $155 Mn, according to a report issued by the American Embassy in Ukraine on Tuesday. According to the document, the money is meant for denationalizing small business, supporting health protection, law enforcement and greater reliability of the operation of nuclear reactors at power stations. Part of the credit is meant for purchases of farm produce. The embassy claims Ukraine can get the aid immediately after the U.S.A. signs appropriate agreements. It also reported that the U.S.A. is ready to offer $175 Mn for ratifying the START-I Treaty before Ukraine joins the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. The size of the aid will depend on the scale and speed of the dismantling of nuclear weapons.

U.S. Stance on Disarmament Viewed

WS1512110593 Kiev RADA in Ukrainian 9 Dec 93 pp 1,2

[Article by Oleksandr Dubyna: "Will American Sisyphus Disarm Us?"]

[Text] In a LOS ANGELES TIMES article dated November 23 1993, a high official representing the U.S. Administration commented on the U.S.-Ukrainian negotiations on nuclear disarmament in the following way: "Our negotiations with Ukraine remind me of the tale about Sisyphus. When you think that you have managed to push the stone up the hill you suddenly realize that the stone is again lying at the foot of this hill."

Why does the American Sisyphus want to do this ungrateful work? It is not difficult to guess. Ukrainian missiles are targeted at the United States and can smash it in seconds. Given the unstable political situation that can go out of control at any time, the U.S. strategists do not exclude the possibility that a fervent Cossack can press a missile button just to frighten those Americans overseas.

Currently, Ukraine does not lay any claims to the United States: This state has not yet done anything good or bad to it. Next, if we even wanted to press this missile button we would be unable to do so because Russia controls 176 missiles and nuclear warheads stationed on the Ukrainian territory. No doubt, this situation disturbs Washington because the United States cannot guarantee that Russian chauvinists and nationalists dreaming of world domination will not come to power tomorrow. Americans cannot but notice the transformation of the Russian Government after the latest October events. Since then, the Russian Government has adopted a range of "strong" decrees including the Russian military doctrine and Russian Foreign Intelligence Doctrine "Prospects for NATO Development and Russia's Interests."

Russian President Boris Yeltsin continues writing letters to Western leaders while Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is enraged with Ukraine because it has ratified the START-I Treaty.

I would like to emphasize that the issue of Russian democratic chauvinism is not yet on the agenda, because the political situation is unstable. I would like to recall that the internal strengthening of Russia has always led to its foreign expansion. One more thing: Enormous Russian potential had always enabled it to quickly recover from various natural calamities. This happened in the 17th century, when Russia was almost enslaved by Poland in the Smolensk War (1633-34). However, in some 20 years, Russia began waging military operations against Ukraine. One hundred years later, after Russia was defeated in the shameful Crimean war of 1853-56, it strengthened its positions in the Balkans after a successful war with Turkey between 1877 and 1878. Again, after a disastrous civil war of 1918-21, Russia began making claims on the international community.

Washington knows history all too well and ponders on the possibility of the revival of Russian international influence. If Ukraine does not overcome its critical financial situation by the time Russia regains its power, our state will lose its independence. If this happens, Ukrainian nuclear missiles will become Russian property; however, they will be directed at the United States. This explains why Washington Sisyphuses are aiming at the destruction of Ukrainian missiles as soon as possible.

Moscow supports Washington Sisyphuses in conducting their negotiations with Ukraine because, first, Russia could appropriate Ukrainian strategic nuclear arms, and, second, Russian strategists are anxious that the Ukrainian party could retarget its missiles from the United States at Russia. It was not accidental that when Ukraine slowed down the process of disarmament in spring, the Russian mass media launched a wild campaign claiming that Ukraine could acquire control over nuclear missiles. Does this mean that Russia thinks that a nonnuclear state could be easily subordinated? I want to underline that if things go this way, the United States will be unable to guarantee our security. By the way, they are not going to do it at all.

U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher put it quite clearly when he visited Kiev in October. His joint press conference with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Zlenko went like this:

[Christopher] First you should disarm, then you will get money.

[Zlenko] First you give us money, then we begin disarming.

We require an enormous sum of money—some $2.8-5 billion. Will the American Sisyphus grant us this money? I doubt it. That means that Ukraine will continue to preserve nuclear arms on its territory. It is senseless asking Russia to pay us compensation.

As for Washington, I think that it will at last come to the conclusion that nuclear disarmament requires joint efforts. It is absurd to do this work alone.

Russian Nuclear Experts Issue Appeal on Warheads

AU1412132993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "You Cannot Do Anything Without Russia"]

[Text] Further storage of nuclear munitions in conditions created in Ukraine is absolutely inadmissible. This is stated in the appeal by Russian designers, scientists, and specialists of the [Russian] Ministry of Atomic Energy to citizens and governments of the world that was disseminated by the Russian Federation's Embassy in Washington.

In the opinion of the neighboring country's nuclear specialists, those politicians who maintain that nuclear munitions may be dismantled in Ukraine are not telling the truth. Moreover, they are convinced that foreign specialists will not be able to do this either. It is only Russians at Russian plants who will cope with such a complex task.

Commentary on Russian Statement

AU1412133193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Dec 93 p 5

[HOLOS UKRAYINY commentary: "The Kremlin Fog"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the appeal by Russian designers, scientists, and specialists from the Atomic Energy Ministry to citizens and governments of world states appeared at the Kremlin's directive. Its goal is to intimidate the world with the dangerous state of Ukrainian nuclear warheads. However, concealed behind the pathos and demagoguery of the authors of the appeal is blatant deception meant for dilettantes. It is stressed in the appeal that the danger lies in the "absence of systematic technological servicing," "failure to replace components in time," and "conducting repairs not provided for by the specifications." However, it is... Russian specialists, who are supposed to watch and fulfill all of this together with our specialists. Yes, yes, precisely Russian. In accordance with the interstate agreement on scheduled and repair servicing of intercontinental ballistic missiles located on the Ukrainian territory. As Ukraine's Deputy Prime Minister V. Shmarov pointed out at a recent news conference dealing with the ratification of START I by the Ukrainian Supreme Council, this agreement is presently being fulfilled, and there is no reason to be concerned about the state of the intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Nor are the Russian scientists sincere when the write the following in their appeal: "Those politicians who maintain that nuclear munitions may be dismantled in Ukraine are not telling the truth." Not a single politician made any such statements anywhere. On the contrary, that same Valeriy Shmarov said at that same news conference that the nuclear warheads may only be dismantled at manufacturer plants, more specifically, in Russia.

Therefore, the appeal by Russian designers and scientists confuses the vile and the holy. Striving to obtain, as soon as possible, our intercontinental ballistic missiles, in addition to the already obtained operational and tactical nuclear weapons, to start selling nuclear weapons components in the West, and to earn further billions of dollars, the authors of the appeal, on the directive from the Kremlin, are trying to obscure the issue.

Russia Said Seeking New Influence Zones

WS1412142193 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 10 Dec 93 p 1,3

[Article by Yaroslav Mynko: "Old Views and New Reality"]

[Text] The ratification of START I was followed by massive pressure on Ukraine exerted by UN Security Council members unsatisfied with reservations and conditions put forward by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. Of course, it was Russia who instigated this offensive. Its military circles are out to intimidate the entire world by claims that Ukraine supposedly is unable to ensure proper maintenance of nuclear weapons—as if in Belarus or Kazakhstan, where the nuclear arsenal is under Russian jurisdiction, the situation is any different.

Although Ukrainian military experts have repeatedly denied those ungrounded statements, the leading powers prefer to listen to Russia only, which, one must admit, has a more powerful say in the diplomatic community than Ukraine does.

By the way, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan said that Russia virtually ruined the collected control over nuclear weapons approved by the CIS. This has coincided with the collapse of the ruble zone and the emergence of a new Russian military doctrine proclaiming the right to inflict a nuclear strike first and adherence to the so-called nuclear deterrence.

The Russian military lobby plays an ever-increasing role in foreign politics, aggressively pressuring the Foreign Ministry. The top brass are angered by the fact that not all nuclear arms are under their control.

A statement by Ye. Primakov, Russian intelligence chief, pointing to the threat to Russia posed by NATO boundaries moving eastward—which former KGB General Oleg Kalugin called a manifestation of the old thinking—was followed by a Russian Foreign Ministry statement stating on behalf of the Russian Government that Russia rejects the ratification of START I; and the foreign minister, A. Kozyrev, hysterically complained that this kind of ratification meant nothing less than the emergence of a new nuclear power.

Immediately after Primakov's report at the NATO Political Council meeting, Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general, said that the organization was changing its mind regarding admission of new members to the organization, especially Central European states. This issue may be resolved in principle in January, but no dates were specified.

Russia has undertaken aggressive efforts to create a new zone of influence. Its geopolitical interests again tend to spill over to all former Soviet republics and states that used to belong to the so-called socialist camp—the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland. At the CSCE conference held in Rome, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev virtually attacked its members, demanding the creation of peace-keeping forces, and not only in the CIS countries, in which Russian troops will certainly call the tune. He was talking about the isolation of Russia, and proposed that the Atlantic Cooperation and Security Union be separated from NATO and put in charge of defense issues. On his part, Manfred Woerner called on the European Union to activate rapid deployment forces to conduct peacekeeping activities and handle other situations under the auspices of NATO.

For the time being, NATO refuses to give security guarantees to Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia, let alone Ukraine or Belarus. The bloc's very existence is received as such a guarantee, reducing the Russian threat to a minimum. This stance is strongly criticized by Central European states and some U.S. representatives. The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland spurn any hint of Russian participation in their fates. In particular, Czech representatives mentioned another Yalta Treaty, which, as everyone knows, divided

Europe into influence zones. Poland feels a sense of betrayal—just as in 1938, when England turned its back on it, clearing the way for German aggression.

Russia came out against NATO's proposal to sign separate bilateral military agreements with each of the Central European countries. However, these countries believe that this should eventually lead them to a full-right membership in the bloc.

In this situation, Ukraine is forced to justify its way of ratification of the START I and look for political allies. Our diplomats continuously explain Ukraine's position, and many politicians and mass media come to understand Ukrainian demands. However, they were officially supported only by Turkey and Canada.

Ukraine is undertaking the first timid steps to creating some kind of security zone, which so far is based on bilateral relations. A Ukrainian official delegation, which participated in negotiations held in the framework of the consultative committee established by the Ukrainian and Polish presidents, has recently visited Warsaw. Our representatives declared that Ukraine understands Poland's intention to enter NATO. Borys Tarasyuk, Ukrainian deputy defense minister, said in an interview that Ukraine and Poland are the states that could make a considerable impact on stabilization and security in Central and Eastern Europe.

Vladimir Lukin, Russian ambassador to the United States, once said: Speak softly, but carry a big stick. It cannot be helped—the modern diplomacy of superpowers has always been based on this principle. Do we have such a big stick? Will we have it in the future?

Teachers Dismayed at Russian-Language Study Ban

PM1412154193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Anatoliy Polyakov under "Yesterday" rubric: "Russian Language Now No Longer Leads to Kiev"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Ministry of Education has sent a telegram to the localities containing a directive according to which study of the Russian language is banned in schools.

Teachers have put the instruction into effect, but do not intend to remain silent; they are voicing their dismay and believe that this is a blatantly politicized decision.

Kiev Delegation Signs Agreements in Beijing

LD1412203793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A delegation from Kiev is in Beijing. It is headed by Leonid Kosakivskyy, representative of the president of Ukraine in the Kiev and head of Kiev city state administration. It held talks with a Beijing delegation, headed by Mayor (Li Tian). The prospects for cooperation between the capitals of Ukraine and China in various areas were discussed in detail.

A grand ceremony of signing an agreement on establishing friendly relations between Kiev and Beijing took place. A plan of exchanges between the two cities for 1994-95 was also signed. In accordance with these documents, Kiev and Beijing will give support for the establishment of contacts between the economic structures, business circles, scientific and cultural institutions, and also residents of both cities. It is envisaged that an exchange of experience and information in all spheres of city management and on issues of social protection of residents will be carried out. In particular an exchange of groups of experts will take place to study issues of city transport and the public health state of the environment, and also the economy and trade.

National Affairs

Supreme Council Holds Plenary Session

Live Media Coverage Halted

LD1412152393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1135 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Announcement by unidentified correspondent from relay of a plenary sitting of the Supreme Council in Kiev]

[Text] You may remember that Supreme Council people's deputies today adopted a resolution on changes in the procedure of coverage of the work of the Eighth Session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine of the 12th Convocation. These changes were made to ensure equal opportunities for all candidates for people's deputies of Ukraine in the course of the election campaign and to prevent individual candidates from gaining advantage in the use of mass media.

The Supreme Council resolution, adopted today, makes the following provision: From now on, live radio and television relays of plenary sittings are to be brought to a halt. In the future, the work of people's deputies is to be covered in the form of diaries, reports, etc. Also, radio and television deputies' channels will operate. Broadcasting weekly programs in the form of a live deputy's channel will continue to clarify the most important legislative acts and decisions adopted by the Supreme Council. Full live television broadcasting of plenary sittings will be made based on a separate decision by the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Austerity Measures Discussed

LD1412202493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The parliament in Kiev on Tuesday began discussion of the government-amended plan of anti-inflationary measures for next year. The plan which was unveiled by Acting Premier Yukhym Zvyahilskyy provides for vesting either the president or a coordinating committee with emergency powers in the economic area. These include:

- a ban on any decision-making leading to excessive money supply

- credit ceilings for banks

- searches for non-inflationary sources of financing such as the issue and distribution of medium and short term government securities

- bills of exchange as a way of promoting mutual credits

- an economically viable rate of the karbovanets in relation to the dollar and the ruble with subsequent government regulation of the national currency rate.

- a ban on the circulation of other currencies apart from exchange offices and on the granting of credits to commercial banks below the Bank of Ukraine's official rate.

- a gradual introduction of the system of receiverships and bankruptcies.

- incentives to energy-saving enterprises which will now have to pay the cost of fuel and gas consumed.

Radio Carries Zvyahilskyy's Speech

LD1412225793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Speech by Acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy to the Supreme Council plenary session in Kiev—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed president, esteemed chairman, esteemed people's deputies: It is absolutely obvious that our state is experiencing the most acute economic crisis. [passage omitted]

How are we to get out of the crisis? The government sees two main directions: First, the gradual movement to the market without which it is impossible to have a normal economy. Stoppages and hold-ups will only complicate the situation. Second, to implement measures that will get us out of hyperinflation. The problems are diverse but mutually connected and should be resolved in parallel with single measures. The government proceeds from the fact that in our conditions, under the influence of market methods alone and instruments of reform, there will be a risk of mass bankruptcies and unemployment, threats of decline, the collapse of whole sectors, and social conflicts. The speeding up of reforms with the simultaneous protection of the population is only possible with the state's control, with a change in the forms of ownership, structural reorganization, and the development of a market infrastructure. In general it is impossible to overcome inflation without tough government measures. Even in the most democratic countries with world market relations, overcoming hyperinflation was secured by tough stabilization measures. Where this did not happen, inflation became chronic. All our attempts to regulate the economic processes without tough, comprehensive anti-inflationary measures have had no effect. Urgent, decisive, and joint actions are needed by the Supreme Council, the president, the government and the trade unions.

Being handed to you is a package of urgent measures drawn up by the government to overcome hyperinflation in Ukraine. It takes account of the biggest possible number of comments and proposals made by deputies during the discussion at the session in November and in deputies's commissions [words indistinct] pricing policy, currency regulation, privatization, and other issues are being implemented.

On some of the key elements, in brief.

Budgetary policy: One of its major problems is the budget deficit which is steeply rising with every round of inflation. [passage omitted] The following are the major steps planned in this sphere:

First, financial resources are being delimited between the center and the regions both in respect of forming and using them. The regions' wider rights, functions, and opportunities, at the same time as raising the role and responsibility of local bodies, form the basis of their economic independence. [passage omitted]

Second, the expenditure section of the budget is being revised. Subsidies to producers are being reduced as much as possible. Address payments [adresni vyplaty] are being established only for those who really need them.

Third, in order to prevent the engagement of credit emissions in the budget, reserves are being formed to finance state contracts.

Fourth, the treasury's computer system is being reorganized, which in combination with the taxation system will ensure that taxes are paid in full and in time.

Reforming the taxation policy is aimed first of all at encouraging enterprises' investments, organizing entrepreneurial structures and foreign partners, and increasing production of primarily consumer and export goods. Objects of taxation are being reconsidered and taxation rates are being differentiated. Reducing value-added tax rates for food industry products is aimed at lowering their prices, which will start in 1994. [passage omitted]

The government thinks it socially just to introduce progressive income tax on citizens' very high incomes, which will be introduced starting from 1994. [passage omitted]

The president, the Supreme Council, the National Bank, and the government have adopted a package of currency regulation documents. A fixed-rate currency exchange rate was canceled and a regulated floating one established. Starting from 1 January, all concessions in respect of the mandatory sale of currency are to be abolished and all individual licenses for opening currency accounts in foreign banks are to be invalidated. Currency will be bought by enterprises and organizations on a tender trading basis, taking into consideration the purposes for which it will be used.

Putting currency out to tender will be the responsibility of the interdepartmental committee for the use of currency earnings. [passage omitted]

All steps being taken by the government to overcome the crisis are ultimately aimed at reducing the heavy burden that is being borne by the working people in this transitional period and to create conditions for normal life. [passage omitted]

The deficit of the pensions fund has exceeded 3 trillion karbovantsi. To redress the balance, 2 trillion have already been found. They were sent out to local authorities on 3 and 13 December. [passage omitted]

Privatization: Whereas an average of 50 facilities a month were being privatized up till August, there were three to four times more of them from September to November. This is not satisfactory.

Specific measures have been taken to step up this process. It is planned that 20,000 out of 24,000 small enterprises and 8,000 out of 40,000 medium-sized and large ones will be privatized next year, half of them with the use of property certificates. A considerable contribution toward stepping up the change of forms of ownership will be made by the presidential decree on privatizing construction in-progress facilities, which will invigorate frozen capital investment and add to Ukraine's currency resources by attracting foreign capital.

We estimate that the share of the non-state sector will have reached 40 percent by the end of next year. [passage omitted]

The agro-industrial complex: The 1993 crop will ensure that the population's requirement for virtually every major foodstuff is met. We have made state reserves of grain of over 14 million tonnes, which is (?3.2) million tonnes more than in 1992. This enables us to meet the population's requirement for bread products until a new harvest, (?effectively) on a level with that in the last few years, which is 148 kg per capita. There are no particular problems with potatoes, vegetables, and fruit. However, because the government lacks state credit resources to purchase sunflower and sugarbeet, which are necessary to form state reserves, providing the population with sunflower seed oil and sugar is still difficult. Although the government has paid up in full for sugarbeet, no less than an additional 700,000 tonnes out of 1.5 millions at producers' disposal needs to be geared up to ensure sugar provision at this year's level. [passage omitted]

To form state resources of agricultural produce in 1994, provision has been made for the financial and credit support of agricultural producers. Procurement organizations and processing enterprises, in particular, will be granted budgetary loans and bank credits to make advance payments to producers to the amount of no less than 50 percent of the value of the produce contracted for. Payment 15 days in advance is to be introduced for livestock produce. It is envisaged that agricultural producers, procurement organizations, and processing enterprises, which conclude a state contract to fulfill a state order, will be supplied with fuel and lubricants, mineral fertilizers, concentrated feed, and other materials and technical resources the production and consumption of which is controlled by and centrally distributed by the state at regulated prices.

Energy supply and energy saving: The fate of the state and the people's living standards depend on resolving this issue. Our own energy resources only meet 42 percent of our requirement, including 90 percent of coal requirement, 20 of gas requirement, and 13 of oil requirement.

Ukraine's main energy carrier is and will for a long time be coal. The coal industry is still working under strain and suffering large disruptions. Seventeen million tonnes of coal have been irreversibly lost for various reasons, including the strike in the summer. The implementation of the coal program will enable us to extract 129 million tonnes of coal as early as 1994, which is 15 million tonnes more than in 1993. Seven mines with a capacity of 12 million tonnes per annum are under construction and two of them will be commissioned in 1995. [passage omitted]

To stabilize the extraction of our own oil and gas, one new 19-well deposit was put on stream in in the last few months and an additional 95,000 tonnes of oil and condensate and almost 700 million cubic meters of gas were received. Next year, it is planned that 11 gas deposits and 12 oil deposits will be commissioned and approximately 1 billion cubic meters of gas and 350,000 tonnes of oil will be available additionally. [passage omitted]

Unfaltering attention is being paid to the reliability and stability of operation of the nuclear power plants. In 1994, two generating sets having the capacity of millions [as heard] will be commissioned, one of them being Zaporozhye's set number seven and the other Chernobyl's set number two.

The procedure of payment for the import of oil and gas is being changed in principle. Consumers, except for budget-funded organizations and the population, will pay themselves, which will undoubtedly contribute to energy saving. The institution of the Ukrainian Siberian Holdings Company will make it possible to receive up to 6.5 million tonnes of crude oil in 1994. [passage omitted]

Foreign economic activity and customs policy: With the aim of stepping up foreign economic activity and raising its efficiency, primarily in export, excise duties have been lowered, and on a number of goods have even been cancelled. [passage omitted]

The structure of exports has improved. The share of machine building in exports has increased by 21.5 percent. The share of barter has fallen two-fold. Although the trade balance with distant countries was positive in the first 10 months of this year, on the whole the negative annual foreign trade balance amounts to around $2 billion; this is first of all predetermined by energy carrier prices and the weakness of our export potential.

It is envisaged that export will be stimulated by canceling excise duties for all the goods at the same time as strengthening control over the receipt of currency earnings in Ukraine. [passage omitted]

With the aim of preventing dumping and unnecessary mutual competition of our manufacturers between themselves and ensuring the full receipt of currency earnings in our country, control over the export of the most profitable goods is temporarily to be taken over by the state. [passage omitted]

Structural reconstruction: This is already proceeding, but it is impossible to bring it about over one or two years, or even over five years, moreover if only at the expense of, as some propose, bankruptcies under conditions of market forces. In order not to finally destroy the home economy and at the same time to hasten the process of structural reconstruction, it is necessary to manage things by proceeding from state interests.

The government has adopted a number of programs for the structural reconstruction of industries. They are directed at modernizing, reequipping, and reorienting specific enterprises and works and extending intersectoral cooperation within Ukraine.

For example, in metallurgy, we are moving toward the closure of 12 obsolete blast and open-hearth furnaces, and six rolled and three sheet metal mills by 1995. This alone will save 4 billion cubic meters of gas, and will allow one to concentrate resources on one's own new products, or those which were previously imported, and to increase export.

Machine-building and the military-industrial complex: It is envisaged that production of almost 4,000 new articles will be mastered. The production of more than 200 of them has already begun this year. In particular, production has already been mastered at the Malyshev plant. Unique complexes for excavating coal from fine tailings are already working at four mines, without parallel in Europe. [passage omitted]

Extensive utilization of the waste of coking by-products and metallurgical production as raw materials is envisaged, which will lower the technogenic load and improve the ecological situation in the Donbass and the Dnepr region and other industrial regions.

Similar programs are being carried out in other industries too. Work is going on on increasing the extraction of kaolin, and manganese and iron ores and facing decorative stone. Capacities to process rare earth metals are being created. Their export will allow one to receive considerable currency revenue in a short time. The prospecting of gold deposits is being carried out intensively. Two prospecting operating mines have already been sunk. If the outlined programs are consistently implemented, we will be able to extract four to five tonnes of gold in four years time [as heard], and we will be able to extract 25 tonnes per 24 hours in eight to nine years time.

To conclude. With such enviable constancy and aggressiveness they surprise one and put one on one's guard. An attempt is being made through bodies of information to pin the label of inferiority onto the president and the Supreme Council and the government and the whole of the Ukrainian people. A distrust of one's own forces to survive the difficult and critical days oneself is suggested, the possibility of independently coming out of the crisis is negated. [passage omitted]

Thank you for your attention. I have finished.

Economic Prospects Weighed

LD1512101993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0817 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Kiev [no date as received]—Yesterday's evening session of the Supreme Council began with a speech by Economy Minister Roman Shpek about urgent measures to overcome hyperinflation in Ukraine. Among the priority areas in particular was the speeding up of the rate of destatization and privatization. It is planned that around 30,000 facilities will be privatized next year. Of those, around 20,000 facilities belong to small scale privatiztion. In the future large and medium size enterprises will be transformed into corporations and the regulation of those enterprises that are not subject to privatization will be strengthened.

In order to stimulate the manufacturing sphere and to encourage foreign investment, the government plans to move away from income tax to a profit tax and value added tax will be reduced at a differentiated rate. From 1994 the declaration of income by the population and others is being introduced. In Roman Shpek's view, the combination of the proposed measures will enable the volume of industrial and agricultural production to be increased next year by 5-7 percent to 1993's level and the increase in the population's money incomes will exceed the growth in retail prices.

However, discussion of Yukhym Zvyahilskyy's report during the morning session and of Roman Shpek's report during the afternoon session showed that the people's deputies critically assessed the measures elaborated by the government and were skeptical of the prospects promised by the government. Presidium member Andriy Pecherov expressed a paradoxical view: "To give the government the opportunity to conduct research on the people while establishing criminal responsibility for its consequences." He proposed that the president should head the Cabinet of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Kuchma, Hrynyov Expect Widespread Bloc Support

WS1512110293 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 9 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Volodymyr Hrynyov, leader of the "New Ukraine" by Vladimir Katsman; place and date not given: "Volodymyr Hrynyov and Leonid Kuchma Decided To Unite Efforts for the Sake of Ukrainian Reforms"]

[Text] Following long hours of negotiations, Volodymyr Hrynyov, former Supreme Council deputy chairman and leader of the "New Ukraine," and Leonid Kuchma, former prime minister, decided last week to form an electoral bloc. In a declaration to their compatriots, the founder of the newly created Interregional Bloc for Reforms emphasized that "efforts by loners in the Supreme Council and the government are doomed. I, Volodymyr Hrynyov, decided to resign from the post of Supreme Council deputy chairman after having realized that any progressive decision is impossible in the conservative legislature. I, Leonid Kuchma, resigned as prime minister after continuous efforts to carry out revolutionary and economically balanced transformations in the economy, which were blocked by legislative and executive structures and the political atmosphere itself... In this critical situation, we are merging our knowledge and experience, as well as professional and administrative potential to form a political bloc of centrist forces."

The primary objectives of the new bloc include establishing regional electoral coalitions, drafting a plan of the bloc's legislative initiatives, and calling a nationwide conference to determine a plan of activities during the elections.

In an exclusive interview with our newspaper, Volodymyr Hrynyov commented on the emergence of the new bloc:

[Hrynyov] The initiative to meet came from both sides. We were probably prompted by current developments in the economy, whose condition I would describe as being on the verge of collapse. We concurred with Mr. Kuchma on three points. First, further delaying resolute market transformations will amount to Ukraine's demise as a state and the pauperization of its people. A second important point is that the country's politics should be more oriented toward the hinterland—the prime generator of economic changes and new personalities capable of coping with numerous tasks. Personally, I see those people in entrepreneurial circles, while Mr. Kuchma in the community of managers and directors. In the future, Ukraine should become an independent and federative state. Third, Ukraine and Russia should remain strategic partners—like Germany and France in West Europe, for example—as long as the former Soviet Union is on a different stage of historic development and the integration of Ukraine into the European Community is a remote prospect.

[Katsman] Let me ask a question of you as a mathematician: Is your union with Kuchma a sum of vectors?

[Hrynyov] These vectors are located at a sharp angle today. Their sum will certainly make their position a lot stronger. Of course, there will be tough issues and disagreements, such as rivalry between Kuchma's and my people in the regions. This is why we are already dealing with them. The important matter is that the principal objective is clear—to assemble a viable and coherent faction in the parliament.

[Katsman] In the upcoming campaign, you both might have to compete with each other.

[Hrynyov] Implementation of the cause is more important to me than personal ambitions, let alone some specific position. We have come to terms with Kuchma on this, too. Without such a faction both of us will not get anywhere.

[Katsman] Do you think that entrepreneurs and managers will support your bloc?

[Hrynyov] I have recently visited Mykolayiv, Kharkov, and Dnepropetrovsk. The bloc was supported not only by the people there, but also by the oblast administrations. Incidentally, I notified President Kravchuk about its creation, and he said that he would promote everything that pushes for reforms. As for managers, I believe that the fact that L. Kuchma was elected president of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs speaks for itself.

Party Leader Rejects Nuclear Disarmament

LD1412134893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1534 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 13 Dec—Ukrainian Peasants Democratic Party [USDP] cochairman Serhiy Plachynda said: "As we expected, communist fascism in Russia is winning. It is subsidized by both world Zionism and chauvinist circles. Those who may come to power in Russia will pursue a policy which will be very dangerous for Ukraine. It is now becoming clear that the public should reach the conclusion that we must not disarm. Nuclear missiles are a guarantor of peace not only in Ukraine but throughout the world. Zhirinovskiy will be at war with Ukraine the moment the last ballistic missile equipped with a nuclear warhead is removed from Ukrainian territory. It is a great danger to Ukraine that President Kravchuk does not realize that nuclear weapons are a guarantor of statehood and security. Our government and structures of power are operating a pro-Moscow policy: Even now Ukraine is buying goods from Russia paying six times as much as we should and selling them for eight times less than we should. Ukraine's budget is plummeting and all that is aggravated by such a dangerous force appearing as Russian communist fascism. So the USDP position is that, as a nuclear state, we can only carry out nuclear disarmament when it is adequately matched by other nuclear states' disarmament."

Defense Minister Increases Missile Protection

LD1412194193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] During the past few days Army General of Ukraine Vitaliy Radetskyy, minister of defense, has visited units and facilities of the strategic missile troops deployed on the territory of our state. The existing problems have been thoroughly analyzed with scientists and specialists during these trips. As a result specific measures have been implemented in the localities to create a reliable system of control over the state of the missile facilities. By a decision of the minister of defense, their protection has been increased, for which additional subunits and units have been allocated and cooperation between them has been established. A great deal of attention has also been paid to issues of efficiency and technical means, and to the daily life of servicemen and members of their families.

Commentary Questions Army's Combat Readiness

AU1412144293 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Army Is Ukrainian, But Its Style Is Soviet"]

[Text] In accordance with the conclusion by supreme chief commander of Ukraine's Armed Forces Leonid Kravchuk, the state is capable of efficiently fulfilling its defense function. The Ukrainian president stated this in his speech at the festive meeting of the command personnel of Ukraine's Armed Forces dedicated to the Armed Forces Day. However, as always, this is just wishful thinking. Possibly, the generals and colonels are really ready for defense, but, as regards soldiers, who, instead of studying and combat training, saw wood, they will have problems, if, God forbid, somebody decides to encroach upon Ukraine's independence.

Government Urged To Curb Separatism

AU1412164993 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 20 (40), 2-15 Dec 93 p 4

[Article by Andriy Rak, UKRAYINSKA HAZETA economic columnist: "Separatists Are Causing Trouble in Transcarpathia"]

[Text] Among the laws that the Supreme Council discusses, adopts, or rejects to enable Ukraine to emerge from the crisis, the parliament discussed, at its 10 November session, the bill "On the Special Free Economic Zone in Transcarpathian Oblast." The bill was unusual and dealt with a region. The discussion was stormy and lengthy. The assessments of the bill ranged from unconditional approval to "down with it!" The latter was finally decided on. The document was returned for further elaboration. However, it is too early to consider the affair completed.

On the occasion of this event, Ukraine's people's deputy Mr. Mykhaylo Shvayka sent a letter to UKRAYINSKA HAZETA. He believes that the "games" played by the Transcarpathian authorities will cost Ukraine 24.9 billion karbovantsi [K] in prices of 1990. Besides, the advocates of the autonomy demand K10.4 billion from the credit fund and interest-free loans in accordance with Article 11.

Of course, Ukraine does not have such money today. Both Mr. Shvayka and the editorial board are surprised that such high-ranking government officials as Messrs. Yu. Zvyahilskyy [acting prime minister], R. Shpek [minister of economy], and H. Pyatachenko [minister of finance] put their signatures to the bill. On what grounds? Neither they nor other members of the government gave the Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Economic Reform an answer where to get that huge capital and whether it can be mobilized at all.

The lack of responsibility exhibited by our officials is particularly striking, since even now, Transcarpathian Oblast is not making any contributions to Ukraine's budget and is even receiving 50 percent subsidies. As of 28 July, the oblast's local budgets were given a loan amounting to K7,898,900, and a subvention of K50,273,200 is envisaged to cover the difference between income and expenditure.

In such a state of affairs, it is only enemies of both the oblast and Ukraine who may speak about the territory's self-sufficiency. What kind of a state is it going to be if oblasts start withdrawing from the integral state economic system and if one oblast or another starts introducing special customs, currency, financial, and other conditions?

Who is causing all that trouble in Transcarpathia?

Particularly reactionary and active are "The Society of Subcarpathian Ruthenians" (from the side of Budapest, Prague, or Bratislava, they are, in fact, Subcarpathian, but from the side of Kiev, they are Transcarpathian), "The Don Cossacks Stanytsya [Village]," "The Russian [Russkiy] Home" Society, and some leaders of Hungarian cultural-national societies. The so-called "Provisional Government of the Republic of Subcarpathian Ruthenia [Rus]" has already been created with Mr. I. Turyanytsya as its head. The latter wrote in his letter No. 244 of 15 August 1993 to the Supreme Council that, as he put it, it depends upon you whether the Ruthenians and, therefore, also Hungarians will remain within Ukraine, or if you renounce them, they will be compelled to struggle for sovereignty, as was the case of their brethren Croats or Slovenes.... He gets the backing of Mr. Dorchynets, head of the Transcarpathian Oblast Council.

Separatists are imposing an adventurous and pernicious road of development, isolation, disintegration, and decline upon the population of Transcarpathian Oblast. Their intensive activity leads to a further deterioration of the economy and to an exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in the oblast, and to a paralysis of the state power in Ukraine.

All of this did not start in Transcarpathia with a substantiation of the need to establish a free economic zone. The leaders of the oblast occupied anti-Ukrainian positions and, having joined forces with international forces, developed vigorous activity aimed at undermining Ukraine's statehood in Transcarpathian Oblast. The following trends were chosen:

1) division of the oblast, creation of a Hungarian autonomous district, which would include the lowland parts of Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, and Vynohradiv rayons, and the whole of Berehiv Rayon;

2) on the rest of the territory, the so-called political Ruthenian movement was stirred up under the guidance of international saboteur agents.

One cannot fail noticing, points out Mr. Shvayka, that these forces are not only financed from foreign sources (Canada, Hungary, or Russia), but also, in fact, from the Ukrainian budget. He means those funds which the Ukrainian government has allocated for the creation of new institutes and research centers in those places where anti-Ukrainian activity has been noticed. Other similar institutions—the "Karpatyka" Institute (headed by scholar Mr. I. Pop, who arrived from Moscow), the Uzhhorod Center for Hungarian Studies (headed by associate professor of Uzhhorod University Sandor Fodo), and also the Institute for Sociological Studies (headed by former secretary of the Oblast Communist Party Committee Myhovych, who was commissioned from Moscow)—work enthusiastically trying to sever the region from Ukraine.

Of course, the local leadership's hopes to obtain royal thrones are associated with this process. It is noteworthy that chairman of the Transcarpathian Oblast Council Mr. D.F. Dorchynets is annoyed by the fact that "his power" is no longer recognized at Ukraine's state border with Romania.

Specialists at justifying the idea of the free economic zone are brought there from everywhere.

For example, at a meeting of the Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Economic Reform, Mr. V. Symchera, one of the authors of the idea of a free economic zone, stated the following: "I want my fellow countrymen to enjoy such a good life as my family does" [sentence in quotation marks published in Russian]. When the deputies asked him where he was from and why he forgot his native language, it turned out that he was a "Muscovite" and arrived with a whole group of consultants and advisers in order to make Transcarpathia "happy" and "free."

"Conscious Transcarpathians," writes Mr. Shvayka,—"true Ukrainian patriots—are decisively against separatism, autonomy, the idea of the free economic zone, or secession from Ukraine. They strive to achieve integration and unity for which Avhustyn Voloshyn and his friends fought in 1938-39, holding high the banner of struggle for Ukrainian independence."

The Transcarpathian zone, the Donetsk-Kryvyy Rih Republic, or Novorossiya [Krasnodar Region]—all of these are links in a single (and we must say, natural, under the circumstances) process of our leadership's inefficiency. When the presidential and governmental apparatuses work inefficiently and do not justify expectations of the country's citizens, local sections of power feel like taking upon themselves a part of "governmental" powers. How to put an end to this regional anarchy? It is necessary to start from the "head." The president must take decisive actions in provinces, namely, to halt the activity of local councils, as has been done by [Russia's] Yeltsin and [Kazakhstan's] Nazarbayev. It is necessary to start purpose-oriented and effective political and economic reforms in Kiev itself. Is this a normal situation, when [Leonid Losakivskyy], presidential representative in the capital, instead of establishing order in stores and seeing to it that there are necessary goods and foodstuffs there, fights, like Don Quixote against SOYUZPECHAT windmill-kiosks?

"With the blessing of the local authorities, small and joint enterprises using foreign capital have already taken over about 3,000 enterprises. The majority of them conduct dubious activity in the external economic sphere. Not only do they sell raw materials and material resources of Transcarpathian Oblast, but also of the entire Ukraine, and do this on a particularly large scale. Hard currency resources are misappropriated and deposited in foreign bank accounts. Economic crimes have become widespread and are covered by power structures and law-enforcement organs," concludes Mr. Shvayka, and one cannot help agreeing with him.

I want to finish this review by commending the Supreme Council whose present composition is being essentially filled with healthy patriotic forces. One of the wonderful proofs of this is the parliament's decision (despite the pressure exerted upon it by so- called "world" academicians) not to allow Transcarpathian separatists to divide and defraud Ukraine. It is also possible to stop Donbass, Odessa.... Maybe, with God's help, everything will stabilize. However, Ukraine needs a Ukrainian patriot of the Yeltsin type!

Organization Replaces Chairman, Confirms Ideals

AU1412141693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 10 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Ukrainian State Independence Association Replaces Its Head...."]

[Text] A scheduled congress of the national association "Ukrainian State Independence" [DSU] held in Dnipropetrovsk ended with a discussion of personnel issues. Ukraine's people's deputy Volodymyr Shlemko was replaced in the post of chairman by Roman Koval, who delivered a report entitled "The New DSU Must Become a Forerunner of New Ukraine."

In the resolution on themselves, the delegates of the congress wrote that "Today, it is only Ukrainian nationalism with its political slogans 'The Ukrainian State Above All!' and 'Ukraine for Ukrainians!' that is capable of averting a national catastrophe." The DSU believes that, in the present circumstances, only a national dictatorship will salvage true Ukrainian people's life. Do you hear the familiar question: "Who's Eaten My Lard?" [Ukrainian traditional staple food].

Democratic Parties, Organizations Adopt Appeal

AU1512092193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Dec 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Sixteen Have United"]

[Text] Participants in the permanently functioning conference of Ukraine's democratic parties and organizations adopted an appeal, which was signed by 16 public associations. Its goal is to change the Supreme Council composition in favor of new reformer forces capable of extricating our state from the economic and political crisis in a constitutional way. Its participants called upon all democratic forces to unite in an electoral association and coordinate joint actions in the election campaign.

The conference of leaders of parties and organizations will be convened at least once every two weeks, depending upon circumstances. It was agreed that the Ukrainian World Coordination Council will create a Center for Promoting Ukraine's Democracy and Statehood with Ivan Drach, chairman of the Ukrainian World Coordination Council, as its head. Levko Lukyanenko and Serhiy Odarych were unanimously elected as cochairmen. It was recommended that all those democratic parties and organizations that are participants in the conference delegate one representative each for work on a permanent basis until 27 March 1994.

Kasatonov Declines Nomination for Presidency

MK1412142093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Crimea"]

[Text] Having thanked residents of the peninsula for nominating him for president of the Republic of Crimea, Admiral Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Federation Navy, declined the honor.

"I have to advise that my nomination for president is impossible," he wrote in a cable sent to residents of Crimea on 13 December. "In addition to the instructions from the Russian Federation defense minister on the undesirability of Russian servicemen's taking part in political activities in elected positions, there is one more reason: the extremely vast, very responsible duties of first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Federation Navy. I see my duty as a citizen of Russia and a Russian sailor in maintaining and, if possible, continuing the Russian Navy's combat power. I believe that this traditional duty of a Russian officer will meet with your understanding. At the same time, I assure you that I will in any position and in any situation in the future do my best to preserve the Black Sea Fleet, to protect the national interests of Russia and of Russians in Crimea and on the Black Sea."

Economic Plight of Fleet Workers Poses Threat

PM1412155193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Maryukha under "Yesterday" rubric: "In 20 Years Ruble Been Devalued by Equivalent of 30,000 Karbovantsi"]

[Text] This, according to Crimean economists, is the ratio of the purchasing power of the 1972-style Union ruble to the current Ukrainian karbovanets coupon.

In connection with the drastic deterioration of the socioeconomic situation in Black Sea Fleet labor collectives, the Presidium of the Black Sea Fleet Trade Union Territorial Committee has addressed a statement to Ukraine's Supreme Council, president, and Council of Ministers warning of a possible social explosion and demanding that the law on indexation of the population's monetary income be reactivated immediately.

Belarus

Minister Kravchenko on Return of Nuclear Weapons

LD1412225493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Belarus Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka has announced that the Republic will return the last strategic weapons remaining from the Soviet Union by 1996 with Russia's agreement, and will become a nuclear-free state voluntarily. He said this at a news conference in Ankara during an official visit to Turkey.

Answering questions from journalists, the Belarusian minister expressed concern at the success of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party in the Russian elections. He said that his platform contains points directed against Belarus, which worries Minsk, ITAR-TASS reported.

Kebich Pledges Adequate Funding for Armed Forces

PM1412144993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Valeriy Kovalev report under the "Events and Commentary" rubric: "Vyacheslav Kebich Satisfied With the Progress of Reform in the Belarusian Army—This Was Stated by the Republic of Belarus Council of Ministers Chairman While Summing Up the Results of Troop Training in 1993"]

[Text] Minsk—In his speech Vyacheslav Kebich stressed: "However difficult the situation in our country may be, sufficient funds will be found for the Army and for its normal operation." The draft budget for 1994 envisages defense spending of over 600 billion rubles [R], the premier announced. Of this, R63 billion is earmarked for housing construction, which will make it possible to conduct it at the same fairly brisk rate as this year.

The government head stated that he is satisfied with the present state of the Belarusian Armed Forces and with the way in which their reform is progressing. As planned, the main phase in reorganizing and reducing the Army will be practically completed in 1994 and troop numbers will reach the optimum figure of less than 1 percent of the Republic's population. Ultimately this will make it possible to improve significantly the financing of the Armed Forces. V. Kebich noted, however, that today's restricted budget capacities will make it impossible to start introducing contract service as of February next year. The transition to this form of recruitment will have to be postponed slightly. At the same time the premier denied reports in some papers that, because of the lack of funds, the government intends to decrease servicemen's pensions and also to impose income tax on them. He stressed: We have done and will do everything necessary to ensure worthy social protection for the Army.

The speech also made a number of criticisms of servicemen. In particular the government head noted with regret that so far "new approaches to educational work have not been found." It is largely for this reason that the crime rate is still high in the Belarusian Army and problems have emerged in personnel policy—the Army is already suffering a shortage of junior officers. The certification of officer personnel that was carried out did not fully prove its worth—even after this incompetent, unsuitable people remain in a number of posts at all levels. In this connection V. Kebich told the Defense Ministry to return again to this question, but on a more principled basis, after the strength of the Armed Forces has been stabilized.

Armed Forces Reorganization 'Virtually Completed'

PM1412162393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Valeriy Kovalev report under the "Yesterday" rubric: "The Belarusian Armed Forces First Brigade Has Its Own Colours"]

[Text] In the Brest Garrison colors have been ceremoniously bestowed on the mechanized brigade formed on the basis of the motorized infantry division stationed here.

The phase of moving the Belarusian Armed Forces to a brigade-corps organizational-establishment structure is thereby virtually completed. In the process of reform the size of the army is to be reduced by 60,000 men. This year alone 6,500 officers and warrant officers have been discharged into the reserves.

Deputies See Leadership 'Selling Out' Country

WS1512081593 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Belarusian 8 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Viktar Alampiyew, Leanid Barshchevski, Yuriy Belenki, and Zyanon Paznyak, people's deputies and members of the democratic legislative opposition: "Selling Out Belarus Has Already Begun. What Will Be Next?"]

[Text] Yes, the selling out has already begun. What has begun recently should have happened following the events in August and December 1991, when the old nomenklatura and administration managed to survive. Under such circumstances, economic degradation, crisis, and loss of sovereignty are predetermined consequences. We could observe similar processes in all postcommunist countries, where old structures remained in power. However, the "Belarusian path" is particular and absolutely unique. There is no analogy. Communist nomenklatura in countries of the former Soviet camp, having achieved state sovereignty, began to defend the national statehood and independent development of their countries. By doing so, they saw a chance to keep themselves in power and conserve old structures. However, the Belarusian nomenklatura (practically completely denationalized) entered onto not a national, but, we dare say, a criminal path— a path of plundering state property and trading national interests. As a result, they decided to liquidate the state independence.

We, as well as other representatives of the Belarusian Popular Front [BNF] and deputies who endorse democratic principles, have repeatedly written and warned against the reasons behind the crisis and ways of destroying the Belarusian state. Certainly, the Russian special services (freely operating on Belarusian territory) and the imperial-communist fifth column play an important role in this destruction. However, the domestic nomenklatura—the Cabinet of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet—pose the main threat and conduct the direct destructive activities. A dangerous form of liquidating independence has been applied—refusal to introduce national currency and a national credit-financial policy, as well as proposals to join the Russian monetary system, the system of a country that proceeds on the path of harsh liberal capitalism.

Should this be achieved (the majority of Supreme Council deputies have recently ratified an appropriate agreement), Belarus' downfall will be inevitable and irreversible.

What will begin?

The Credit-Financial System

Belarusian banks will cease to exist. They will be swallowed by huge Russian banks, since they are comparatively weak and low-level. (At best, they could become branches, however, this is unlikely to happen.)

Belarusian enterprises will go bankrupt and will be purchased by Russian entrepreneurs and businessmen. (We will not mention the unemployment caused by this.) According to the bond system in Russia, credits for enterprises are secured with bonds. If a debtor does not have money to repay debts, he has to hand over his property. If 30 percent of the bonds is concentrated in one entity, an enterprise becomes property of the owner of the bonds. Given the artificially created energy dependence on Russian deliveries, it is not hard to create a situation that would lead to the bankruptcy of Belarusian enterprises. (We will not outline all methods for doing this. For example, if a Belarusian enterprise delivers goods to Russia, and it has 100 Russian subsidizing deliverers, it is enough to suspend deliveries from one of these subsidiaries, to receive results favorable for a Russian customer.) Our industry will be ruined. Financial relations are vital for the economy. In the Russian monetary system, our enterprises will collapse, and will be swallowed by Russian ones.

Naive people, having listened to adventurous speeches by Cabinet of Ministers members, believe that either Russian rubles will arrive soon (Russia will deliver them), or that a beneficial exchange rate will be introduced. However, the socioeconomic nature of such an exchange rate will be a big surprise for those who used to live with illusions of simple remedies, not knowing what is hidden behind them. What will really happen is that wages of Belarusian citizens will fall, and prices will match those in Russia. Theoretically, this should be considered a temporary measure, but in fact, this will be a forceful blow that we and our enterprises will not be able to endure.

Energy Sources

Naive people are told that, given the unification of the Belarusian and Russian monetary systems, cheap energy sources will appear. As a matter of fact, there will not be any cheap energy sources. Russian officials have stated that world prices for oil will be introduced in the near future. However, Belarus already purchases oil from Russia at world prices. The world price we pay comprises the price of oil for Russian customers in dollars, given the overestimated exchange rate for rubles to U.S. dollar, plus the $40 per tonne customs duty. In fact, having taken into account the predatory clearing of accounts with Russia that are imposed by the oil blackmail, we already buy oil at twice the world prices. In this way, Ukraine has been milked, and currently Belarus is being milked.

It is obvious that even if the customs duties are changed and the prices for Russian oil are at the world level, the predatory price will not change for us. The price will always be higher than the one in Russia, given the Russian monopoly in oil trade and the structure of the trade between our states. Additionally, the changes in customs provide for payments to the Russian federal budget, since Russia's internal prices for various goods include budget subsidies. Thus, living conditions in Belarus will become relatively worse than the ones in Russia.

Russia is an imperial state with vital interests outside its borders, and it will remain such a state. Is must spend great amounts of money for its army, special services, foreign representations, etc. All this will become a burden also for a Belarusian taxpayer, if our country is sold and swallowed by Russia. The people will be forced to pay for foreign policy, a foreign army, as well as foreign geopolitical interests and adventures. (In this case they will also have to pay with their lives.)

The new situation will lead to opening all borders with Russia and tightening control on borders with other countries such as Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Latvia. Russians will demand that we pay for this. If this happens, the Russian capital will be unrivaled in our Republic, given the weakness of our enterprises. Russian goods will also be unrivaled, which will lead to a decline in production.

Agriculture

According to Russian laws, kolkhozes will have to pay a 10 percent value-added tax, annulled in Belarus long ago. This will reduce the competitiveness of our products and lead to an increase in prices. In addition, Belarusian agriculture will not receive the necessary centrally allocated credits. This will bring in a new wave of bankruptcy in the Republic, while bankrupt enterprises will be bought out by the Russian capital.

Privatization

Democratically oriented people's deputies have suggested the adoption of a law on personal privatization vouchers granting Belarusian citizens three quotas for participation in privatizing three branches of state property—housing, land, and industrial enterprises. Given the dramatic economic decline and impossibility of granting social security to the people, the state must share its property with its citizens to give them a chance to survive. However, the Supreme Soviet majority rejected these motions. Not all the citizens have been granted land; privatization vouchers have not been issued. In this situation, the Belarusian Government is ready to accept Russia's conditions, including the selling of land. Under these conditions, our land will be expropriated by wealthy Russians. This is an effect of the so-called unification of the Russian and Belarusian monetary systems.

Social Security

Joining Russia's monetary system and losing state independence will cause the shrinking of our social security funds. In Belarus, this fund represents 40.8 percent of the wage fund, while in Russia the figure is only 36 per cent. The Belarusian pension fund represents 89 per cent of the entire social security fund, while the corresponding figure in Russia is only 72 percent. The pension fund in Belarus will have to be frozen and social security is bound to deteriorate.

According to the Supreme Soviet 23 November resolution, the government had to draft a mechanism for using Belarusian payment bills as a sole legal tender by 1 December 1993. However, the draft was not completed within the envisioned term. Instead of this, Mr. Kebich and his retinue went to Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, knelt, and bargained over the conditions for surrendering Belarus. In exchange for prolonging the power resources agony until the end of 1993, Russia will lease Mozyr and Polotsk refineries in which, according to Kebich, "Belarus, too, will have shares."

All this "politicking" has traits of state treason and resembles the psychology and motivation of a drunkard who pawns his personal belongings to buy himself the hair of a dog. The results of a drunkard's "economic activity" are easily foretold.

Prime Minister Kebich has also committed himself to making a political declaration by the end of 1993. What kind of declaration will this be? Nominally, this will be a declaration on forming a monetary union with Russia, while in fact, it will amount to Belarus's walking out on its independence. Kebich pointed out that "Boris Nikolayevich also approved of this and thus far, nominated only Belarus for testing **this system on the latter's example**." Let us not discuss the cynicism of current and former politicians that has long crossed the boundary of decency. Another great experiment on the Belarusian people has begun. The possible results of this experiment have been repeatedly described by BNF activists—along with losing state independence, Belarusians will lose their property. The sovereign state will be replaced with a bantustan. Belarusians will become a nation living on its historic territory that will no longer belong to them; they will work in enterprises owned by foreigners and produce goods for others to profit. This path will lead to the cultural and historic death of the nation.

BNF deputies have persistently suggested concrete economic and political steps to prevent the looming socioeconomic and political catastrophe. Every normal Belarusian knows what should be done.

The first experiment on robbing and ruining our economic and financial system and making the Republic dependent on Russian power supplies is over. The aim of the experiment has been obtained—people with Soviet-type mentality started to say: "What do we need sovereignty for?" The second experiment is under way, that of providing the first experiment with a political footing.

By means of this article, we want to draw people's attention to the possible consequences of continuing experiments. We want to emphasize that regardless of the heavy trials that the future has in store for the Belarusian nation, its enemies will lose. Belarus lives and will continue to live! No resolutions adopted by its illegitimate Supreme Soviet directed at annihilating our state and nation will have legal power. They will be annulled and declared invalid by the first democratic, normal legislature. Enterprises robbed, leased, and mortgaged by the current government will be nationalized and returned to Belarusian owners. Order and justice will be restored along with laws, freedom, and real independence of our state.

Slavic Union: Union With Russia 'Urgent'

WS1512093193 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1333 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk—The First Congress of the Slavic Union White Rus [Pelaya Rus] was held in Minsk on 11-12 December. The main issue on the agenda was the party's platform. According to the platform, the Slavic Union Belaya Rus is a part of an international Slavic movement that was established following the collapse of world stability, which had been ensured by two world powers—the USSR and the United States. The program emphasizes that the Slavic civilization is currently in a critical situation, and the only way of overcoming this crisis would be establishing a Slavic union, whose nucleus would be a union of Slavic-Rus nations—the United Rus [Sobornaya Rus]. Unification of Rus, in the opinion of the Slavic union, is the only possible way to provide military, political, and economic security for its historical components, including Belarus. In this regard, measures for a more rapid integration with the Russian Federation are inevitable and urgent for Belarus. According to the participants in the congress, the unification of Rus is a path to economic development and prosperity. Among the main objectives of the "nationally oriented economic policy" are fundamental changes in the tax policy, which should stimulate domestic production and the development of an infrastructure, the introduction of a state monopoly in external economic relations until the end of the period of economic stabilization, and the cancellation of the "destructive conversion of the defense industry complex" [passage missing].

Officials on Monetary Union With Russia, Finance Policy

WS1512111093 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Andrey Potrebin: "Bitter But Inevitable Medicine"]

[Text] Currency exchange rate is not imposed by a decree but by market demands, and the financial sphere only reflects the difficult economic situation, emphasized Stanislav Bohdankevich, chairman of the National Bank of Belarus, at a press conference held at the Minsk National Press Center on 9 December.

The Belarusian ruble [zaychik] loses its value to goods and foreign currencies. Although prices have increased by 1600 percent since the beginning of the year, the zaychik has only plummeted by 600 percent. Stanislav Bohdankevich reported that the monthly increase in the money supply has not exceeded 9 percent since July, however this alone will not stop inflation. Other measures are required in addition to this, and the currently propagandized government program "The Leading Measures..." provides for such steps.

Serious difficulties are observed in trading with meat and milk producers. The state owes 13 billion rubles [R] for milk, despite the fact that the National Bank allocated R50 billion for this purpose in the second quarter of this year. The state does not forget to pay for cars and imported wine, the country's chief banker pointed out, and emphasized that commercial banks will earmark R125 billion to settle payments for agricultural products.

Finance Minister Stepan Yanchuk admitted that the economy has not adapted itself to new prices, and there still remains a payments deficit. Belarus purchases and consumes more than it can sell and earn. Only 3.5-4 percent of Belarusian products can be sold at world prices. The budget deficit should still amount to 6 percent of the gross national product this year. The same level is planned in 1994, along with a strict credit policy, a reduction in money supply increases, cutting subsidies, and further freeing prices.

Stanislav Bohdankevich reported that the zaychik has been traded for the first time on the Moscow currency exchange, and its exchange rate has been close to the National Bank rate—4.6 to one Russian ruble.

The agreement does not provide for a concrete date, but only for setting preconditions and settling issues until 1 January, emphasized Bohdankevich, commenting on the unification of the Russian and Belarusian monetary systems. He recalled that the agreement stipulates that the one-to-one exchange rate is to be maintained. This requires appropriate measures. Two means are possible: The first one is evolutionary and gradual unification following the equalization of exchange rates and other economic steps. In such a case, Russia would not risk a gamble with its already strengthened currency. Another possibility is a political ruling "in the name of strategic interests", even if this would not be beneficial for Russia. The chairman of the National Bank and the finance minister said that they only trust already signed agreements and work in accordance with them.

I often receive requests for money that I do not have, and Bohdankevich is asked for credits that do not exist, complained the minister, referring to the people's habit of living beyond their means. Apparently, a bitter but inevitable medicine has been prescribed for our economy for 1994.

Supreme Council Hears Report on High-Level Corruption

WS1412155993 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1336 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The 14 December Supreme Council session began with a report on the results of an investigation conducted by a temporary committee for examining the activities of commercial structures. The report was delivered by Committee Chairman Alyaksandr Lukashenka who pointed out that "corruption started to flourish as soon as the Republic made its first feeble steps toward the market." According to Lukashenka, the process of merging commercial structures with administrative organs has grown to "threatening dimensions."

Alyaksandr Lukashenka also commented on privatization in the Republic. He informed deputies about the privatization of 94 small and medium state-run enterprises in 1991-92. Over the same period, state enterprises sold 1,190 billion rubles [R] worth of equipment and property to commercial structures, while R270 million worth of property was transferred to private owners free of charge.

Lukashenka mentioned the notorious affair over the killing of Belbiznesbank Chairman A. Lisnichuk, and claimed that "there is evidence that some officials, including National Bank Chairman Bahdankevich, protected and supported Lisnichuk."

The speaker revealed numerous facts of granting unlawful low interest credits to commercial banks, and insisted that forming commercial structures at executive and legislative organs "is of a criminal nature and causes losses to the state and its citizens."

After a recess, the floor was given to Lukashenka's deputy S. Antonchik, who voiced his surprise over "the political orientation of the report." Antonchik furnished many examples of corruption and embezzlement on the part of numerous officials, including Council of Ministers Deputy Chairmen Mikalay Kostsikaw and Stanislaw Bryl.

The evening session will be devoted to discussing these reports.

Further on Accusations

LD1412182793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Belarus's governmental bodies are progressively becomming more enmeshed in the shadow economy, said the head of a parliamentary commission.

Addressing Tuesday's parliament session, Aleksandr Lukashenko, head of a provisional parliamentary commission checking the operations of businesses run by central and local governmental bodies, described the situation as "a frontal onslaught by corruption."

Lukashenko blasted the finance minister, the head of the State Committee on Industry, the head of the National Bank and other senior officials. He said Finance Minister Stepan Yanchuk, for instance, with permission from First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich, had joined the board at Belvneshekonombank.

Lukashenko also cited authentic data on the leakage of money from the national stabilization fund into private companies. He said Parliamentary Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich were aware of many major economic offenses.

Lukashenko said bribery had become the most widespread form of doing business in Belarus. Since the beginning of the year, the police had exposed over 400 instances of it, which, however, accounted for only 5-10 percent of all such facts, he said citing Justice Ministry data.

Lukashenko said his commission had come to the firm conclusion that businesses run by governmental bodies were generally engaged in criminal activities.

Meanwhile, a parliament resolution has been drafted for giving Lukashenko's commission the status of a standing anti-corruption body.

It has also been proposed that instances of corruption in government be given open hearing at parliament sessions.

Official Comments on Inflation, Budget Spending

WS1512094493 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Ivan Zayash, chief of the Finance Ministry's Budget Management Department, by unidentified correspondent under the "Overcoming Crisis: Government Program" rubric; place and date not given: "Prices Will Climb, but Not So Fast"]

[Text] We all have already experienced the meaning of life with a 50-percent monthly inflation rate. This means almost everyday price hikes in stores, while wages are paid twice or only once a month. But what wages!? Their constant lag behind the growth of prices is no secret to anyone.

The "Key Trends" in overcoming the crisis, approved by the Belarusian Council of Ministers, state that the chief measures for lowering the rate of inflation are the reduction of budget spending and the preservation of the state budget deficit on a level not exceeding 6 percent of the GNP. A RESPUBLIKA reporter has asked Ivan Zayash, chief of the Budget Management Department at the Belarusian Finance Ministry, to elaborate on these scanty lines of the document.

[RESPUBLIKA] Ivan Ivanovich, I would like to know, first of all, whether we will remain within the 6 percent framework or....

[Zayash] I can reply unequivocally that we will, both this year and next year. Moreover, we may succeed in reducing the budget deficit even more in the future. These are our future debts.

[RESPUBLIKA] One of the conditions for the IMF credits is the reduction of the monthly inflation rate to 10 percent. Will we manage to achieve this?

[Zayash] It is difficult to say. We should strive for this, at least. We cannot live with the current rate of inflation. We predict that retail prices will increase 4.2 times in 1994, while this year they have climbed 12.6 times. Thus, prices will grow, but more smoothly.

[RESPUBLIKA] Under the provisions of the "Key Trends," some tax rates will be reduced, while certain taxes will be totally abolished. At the same time, you estimate that revenues from taxes will increase 3.5 times next year. How?

[Zayash] First of all, I would like to make the issue clear—the last say is with the Supreme Soviet deputies who will adopt the relevant law. Some of our proposals may be rejected. On the whole, I suppose that our approach to the drafting of the 1994 budget will not change.

As for budget returns, they will grow together with prices in 1994. Yes, we will reduce some tax rates and abolish certain taxes completely. At the same time, however, we also plan to remove a number of ungrounded taxation privileges. Therefore, both enterprises and citizens will pay less, but the number of taxpayers will increase.

[RESPUBLIKA] You predict reduced budget spending next year. What will this mean to an ordinary Belarusian citizen?

[Zayash] This will mean that stores will no longer sell cheap bread and dairy products. We will have to pay considerably more for public utilities, although state subsidies here will account for 60 percent of government spending by late 1994. We will pay more for gas, electricity, public transportation, fuel, and drugs ...

I understand what reaction these words may evoke, but.... The financier and the consumer are fighting inside me. The financier is convinced that it is wrong to allot 300-ruble subsidies for each loaf of bread or each liter of milk, as is the case today. Later this bread and milk are sold at Russian markets where speculators earn huge fortunes from the difference in prices. We would rather support low-income groups. By the way, according to our estimations, an average family with a low income will have to receive up to 35,000-45,000 rubles in such subsidies a month.

If we do not stop supporting bread producers, we will ruin local budgets, because these subsidies come from them.

We need not deceive ourselves. Generous state subsidies result in an unproductive growth of budget spending. This, in turn, leads to increased inflation. The latter devalues our wages and pensions. So, as consumers, we gain nothing from the artificial preservation of low prices....

Kazakhstan

President Granted Parliamentary Powers Until Elections

LD1512101293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0948 GMT 15 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty December 15 TASS—President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and the heads of local administrations have been vested with additional powers as of today in connection with the self-dissolution of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies. These powers are quite extensive. Suffice it to say that the president now has the right to issue legislative acts until new law-making bodies are elected on March 7, 1944 [as received]. He has the right, if need be, to discharge other parliamentary functions also: to appoint heads of top republican bodies, to ratify and denounce international treaties, to decide questions of war and peace.

In addition to this, the law on the temporary delegation of additional powers to the executive arm of government, which has already come into force, allows Nazarbayev to endorse in advance the republican budget for the first half of the next year. It recommends the heads of local adminstrations to do the same with the budgets of their respective administrative-territorial units.

Local analysts believe Nazarbayev will, without doubt, make full use of his greatly enhanced powers to step up the pace of socio-economic reforms in the republic. It is obvious that the self-dissolved parliament had in many ways interfered with the implementation of his initiatives. It was slow in adopting the necessary laws and over-cautious in regard to everything new and progressive.

Nonproliferation Commitment Sealed by Gore Visit

Ratification Details Given

PM1412161193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev report: "Kazakhstan Will Dismantle Nuclear Equipment With U.S. Help"]

[Text] Almaty—The main result of U.S. Vice President Albert Gore's visit to Almaty was the signing of a framework agreement on the secure and safe dismantling of nuclear equipment in Kazakhstan. The U.S. Congress has authorized the use of $1.2 billion for this purpose from Defense Department funds.

However, before such an agreement could be signed Kazakhstan had to comply with certain conditions relating to its commitments to the world community. Specifically, on the eve of his arrival A. Gore described it as "desirable" for Kazakhstan to ratify the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty. This presented a certain procedural difficulty because last Friday the Republic's Supreme Council had adopted laws on the early termination of its powers and the granting of legislative rights—until the new parliament begins work—to the president. Fortunately the two laws had not yet been published and thus were not able to enter into force.

On Monday, the day of the U.S. vice president's visit, the Kazakhstan Supreme Council, already declared defunct but still operating, ratified the treaty at the last session in its history, after which Kazakhstan Prime Minister S. Tereshchenko and A. Gore entered the hall to sign the joint documents.

At the final news conference a WASHINGTON POST correspondent asked: What influence have the results of the Ukrainian-U.S talks had on the progress of the talks with Kazakhstan, and what levers did President Nazarbayev have to use to persuade the parliament to ratify such an important and complex document so quickly and unreservedly? A. Gore assessed the results of the talks with Ukraine as a positive factor in the present context and remarked that he has not lost hope of a continuation of dialogue with that state on its nonnuclear status. N. Nazarbayev, in turn, said that Kazakhstan had obtained adequate guarantees of security from the world community, including the nuclear states, and that this had ultimately persuaded the Supreme Council of the necessity of ratifying the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In a speech to journalists he also recalled that Kazakhstan is most consistently fulfilling its commitments regarding its assumption of nonnuclear status—in particular, it was the first of the Lisbon Protocol signatory states to ratify the START-I treaty. Now it has joined the countries that have assumed a commitment on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Within the framework of the agreement on the secure and safe dismantling of silo-based ICBM launchers, the first five agreements on the implementation of that agreement were signed at the level of Kazakhstan and U.S. deputy defense ministers. They provide for aid to Kazakhstan totaling $84 million.

What will these funds be used for? The United States will supply Kazakhstan with the clothing and equipment necessary in emergency situations connected with the dismantling of nuclear weapons, channels for direct intergovernmental links will be established, and specialists will be trained...

In addition to signing the framework agreement the U.S. vice president and the Kazakh prime minister initialed an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation. The exchange of instruments of ratification of the treaty to encourage and provide mutual protection for capital investments took place at the foreign ministry level.

It was announced that in February President N. Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan will pay an official visit to the United States.

Gore, Nazarbayev Cited on Treaty

LD1412205693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 Gmt 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] By an overwhelming majority of 237 votes, the Kazakh parliament ratified the nuclear non-proliferation treaty on Monday [13 December]. One deputy was opposed and others abstained.

U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore, visiting Almaty, had given a positive reaction to the news saying the treaty would serve to promote the cause of peace and economic development in Central Asia as a whole. He also spoke of signs of progress in nuclear disarmament talks with Ukraine which instilled optimism.

The Vice-President had also praised the Kazakh-U.S. agreement on dismantling nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union deployed in Kazakhstan. A bilateral working commission is due to sit to work out an appropriate schedule soon.

The ratification of the treaty, said Gore, marks an entirely new stage of relations between Kazakhstan and the United States. He said strategic cooperation was based not only on shared positions in respect of nuclear weapons but also in many economic agreements designed to help promote the private sector in Kazakhstan.

Gore announced that the Central Asian Business Fund was due to open its office in Almaty whose main task would be to provide aid to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as countries which embrace more consistent economic reforms than others.

For his part, President Nursultan Nazarbayev said his country was "honoring its obligations in respect of nuclear weapons". However, he said Kazakhstan had set its own conditions for dismantling them. The main one is Kazakhstan wants to hold back to [as received] electronic and other equipment for subsequent use in the economy before missile-containing silos are destroyed.

Gore said the Kazakh leader had accepted President Clinton's invitation to visit the U.S. on February 14.

Japan Welcomes Decision on Nuclear Weapons

LD1412151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kutakhov]

[Text] Tokyo December 14 TASS—Japan is welcoming the Kazakh leadership's decision to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a nuclear free state, and urging Ukraine to follow the example of Kazakhstan. According to Terusuka Terada, press secretary of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, ratification of this treaty by the Kazakh parliament should be regarded as an "exclusively important step preventing the further spreading of nuclear weapons".

Terusuka Terada said that Japanese foreign minister, Tsutomu Hata, sent a message on Monday to head of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, Anatoly Zlenko, expressing an "insistent demand" that Kiev join without delay the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as a nuclear free state and unconditionally ratify the START-1 treaty. The message which was handed over to Anatoliy Zlenko by a Japanese diplomat in Kiev, repeats numerous calls of Japan to Ukraine in accordance with the decisions of the Tokyo summit of the G-7 leading industrialized countries held in July this year.

Kyrgyzstan

New Prime Minister Appointed, 'Crisis' Discussed

Parliamentary Confirmation

LD1412174293 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 1700 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The main event at today's session of the Zhogorku Kenesh was the confirmation by the parliament of the president's nominee for the position of prime minister. Among the five candidates who had received the highest rating at the session, Askar Akayev has chosen People's Deputy Abbas Dzhumagulovich Dzhumagulov. The parliament has confirmed the candidate.

Akayev Calls For 'New Confidence'

LD1412131993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1133 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Abbas Dzhumagulov, head of administration in the Chuy region, has become Kyrgyzstan's new prime minister. On the proposal of President Askar Akayev, the republic's parliament approved his candidacy Tuesday.

Before the voting Akayev declared that all 5 candidates to the premier's post who had collected a majority of votes in the voting will be included in the new government.

Addressing the session, Akayev reported that "the problem related to the utilization of the gold reserves is only one of the reasons due to which he proposed to the government to resign. In his opinion, "Kyrgyzstan, as well as other CIS countries, is experiencing political and economic crisis and the political situation forces all branches of power to acquire the confidence both of the people and parliament."

Akayev also declared that the government "must receive new confidence." At the same time he noted that it is necessary to solve two problems in order to surmount the crisis, namely "to preserve the solidarity of the nation" and "to reach consent between the legislative and executive powers."

Akayev on Current 'Crisis'

LD1412205893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Abbas Dzhumagulov, head of the administration in the Chuy Region, has become Kyrgyzstan's new prime minister. On the proposal of President Askar Akayev the republic's parliament approved his candidacy Tuesday.

Before the voting Akayev declared that all 5 candidates to the premier's post who had collected a majority of votes in the voting will be included in the new government.

The parliament in Bishkek meeting on Monday had backed up the President's proposal for government resignation after Tursunbek Chyngyshev's cabinet had failed to win a confidence vote. In his last speech, Chyngyshev accused the parliament of becoming too red under Bolshevik influence. He spoke of a creeping counter-revolution taking place at the session which might be followed by a coup d'etat. Chyngyshev said his government which would resign as a whole did not want to hold back to ministerial posts but he asked deputies to think hard about those who would come to replace it. [sentence as received]

Addressing the session, Akayev reported that "the problem related to the utilization of the gold reserves is only one of the reasons due to which he proposed to the government to resign." In his opinion, "Kyrgyzstan, as well as other CIS countries, is experiencing political and economic crisis and the political situation forces all branches of power to acquire the confidence both of the people and parliament."

Akayev also declared that the government "must receive new confidence." At the same time he noted that it is necessary to solve two problems in order to surmount the crisis, namely "to preserve the solidarity of the nation" and "to reach consent between the legislative and executive powers."

The president's office in a statement on Tuesday blamed the crisis on a lack of precise power sharing arrangements and appropriate executive functions which is the main condition for the existence of a healthy and vigorous government.

The statement says that as the supreme official embodying the country's statehood and ensuring the coordination and functioning of government bodies, the president was bound to take a decision in order to avert a deeper crisis. Parliamentary debates, it says, have shown that nothing short of credibility and legitimacy on the ground will be able to help towards a normal functioning both of the government and legislature. The president's decision to dismiss the government was the only option available, the statement says.

It says that newly-appointed Prime Minister Abbas Dzhmagulov who wields great influence on the ground and enjoys the backing of the President and parliament will be able to ensure an effective performance by central and local governments.

Supreme Council Adopts Law on Citizenship

LD1412184193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Law on Citizenship of Kyrgyzstan was adopted by the Supreme Council today. According to the act, citizens of the Republic are persons who were citizens of Kyrgyzstan on the day the declaration of its sovereignty was adopted—15 December 1990, and who indicated at the time their desire to adopt the citizenship of another state.

Tajikistan

Russian Border Guard Commander Arrives in Dushanbe

Talks on Border Protection

LD1412170993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The commander of Russian border-guard troops, Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev arrived in Dushanbe Tuesday [14 December]. He plans to meet on the same day with the speaker of the Tajik parliament Imamali Rakhmanov and discuss with him problems associated with the protection of the Russian-Tajik border. Under discussion will be problems to be later solved by the CIS summit in Ashgabat December 23-24, including on rescheduling the implementation of the decision taken on January 22, 1993. The document on stabilizing the situation in Tajikistan that was approved by leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan envisages the sending to the Tajik-Afghan border of those states' battalions to enforce the border.

Nikolayev and Rakhmanov also plan to discuss the sending of up to 5,000 conscripts from Tajikistan to protect the Russian border and the same number of Russian conscripts to Tajikistan, as well as to solve the problem off creation in Tajikistan of its own border-guard troops.

Meeting With Rakhmanov

LD1512102393 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Imamali Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, received Andrey Nikolayev, commander in chief of the Russian Border Troops, today. We would like to remind you that Nikolayev arrived in Dushanbe yesterday.

Issues concerning reinforcement of the Tajik-Afghan border and other issues related to the service of the Russian border guards were discussed during the meeting.

Rakhmanov Holds Talks in Leninabad Oblast

LD1412192393 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Imamali Rahmanov, the head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, has arrived in Leninabad oblast. Abdulmajid Dostiyev, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, Kozidavlat Koimdodov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, the heads of the ministries and departments of the country are accompanying him.

Abdujalil Homidov, chairman of executive committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies of Leninabad oblast, Abdullojonov, chairman of Khujand town executive committee and other officials met Imamali Rahmanov and those who are accompanying him at Khujand Airport.

Imamali Rahmanov met the people's deputies from Leninabad oblast and chairmen of the executive committees of the towns and rayons of the oblast at the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies of Leninabad oblast. Issues which are included in the agenda of the 18th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan were discussed.

Abdulmajid Dostiyev, Kozidavlat Koimdodov, members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the heads of the ministries and departments of the Republic took part in the discussions.

Transport Minister on Reduction of Ministries

LD1412183593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1204 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Interview with Transport Minister Nazrullo Dustov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] What are people's deputies' opinions on the structure and reduction of the governing state apparatus? Here is an interview by our correspondent with Transport Minister Nazrullo Dustov.

[Correspondent] Dear Minister, one of the issues, which will be discussed at the Supreme Council session of the Republic of Tajikistan, is on state structure. I would like to ask you, as a member of the government, to express your opinion about this issue to the radio listeners.

[Dustov] Frankly speaking, I have not seen the [new] state structure yet. However, I have heard that a number of the ministries will be changed, or several ministries will be combined.

This issue was discussed at the 16th Supreme Council session [17 November 1992], and the present ministries and departments were established and the ministers and other officials were appointed. Today, the political and economic situation of the Republic of Tajikistan is very bad and everybody feels that. Today we will not achieve success by means of changing the ministries and departments. Today is not the time for us to be busy with the reduction and unification of ministries and departments.

Of course, sometimes it is necessary. However, today when approximately one year is left until the election of the Supreme Council, there is no need for such changes. Let every minister and employee of the ministries and departments work hard and honestly and not have to be concerned about being changed or transferred to another job in one year.

If we work in such a manner, than we are not the sons of our Motherland. One has to work honestly, with a clear conscience for the Republic of Tajikistan, until the last hour of being in office.

But unfortunately, if today the issue related to changing the state structure and liquidation of some ministries rises, then not all the ministries will understand this correctly, and not everybody will wish to work honestly. This could become the reason for some problems in some branches of the national economy of the Republic. I do not believe that there are such people in Tajikistan but it may be possible. That is why, if this issue is discussed at the Supreme Council session, as a Supreme Council people's deputy, I will be against it, and I think that the state structure should remain unchanged until the new election of the Tajikistan Supreme Council.

This is one side of the issue. The second side of the issue is purely economic. Suppose that the name of the ministry has been changed. For example in our ministry there are approximately 110 enterprises and offices. If the name of the ministry is changed that means that we have to change all the ministry's papers, stamps, and seals. Can you imagine how much money is needed to just change these things. That is why I think today is not the right time for us to be busy with this issue, because the Republic's situation is very bad.

Armed Opposition Seen Facing Dissension, Defeat

PM1512100993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Nurmukhammad Vataner: "Tajikistan: War Lurking on the Border"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The Tajik rebels are receiving consignment upon consignment of modern weapons from abroad, but the expense is not proving justified. The armed opposition is suffering defeat after defeat on the border. The leaders of the "implacable" opposition are shuttling back and forth across the world in search of money, the latest weapons for the mercenaries, and instructors for "field commanders" in an effort to "Afghanize" the situation in the Republic as far as possible.

According to the latest data, the defeats are not driving the opposition forces to consolidate. Disorder and instability are increasing in their ranks.

The opposition now frequently resorts to extreme measures to "draft" people into its service. For instance, Dovlat Usmon, deputy chairman of the Islamic Rebirth Party and former vice premier of the "democratic" government, now custodian of the emigre bosses' coffers, is at the same time placing all manners of obstacles in the way of refugees wanting to return home. Once, when addressing refugees in the town of Sakhi, he urged them to join armed formations in order to return home as victors. He promised substantial payment and cited tempting examples, but when this got him nowhere he turned to his final argument, ordering his assistant, N. Toshev, former Republic Internal Affairs Ministry staffer, to shoot three dissenters. The "boss's" instructions were carried out immediately.

Dovlat Usmon was also given a second role in the formation of the so-called Tajik Government in exile, which resides in the northern Afghan province of Takhar, in the city of Talukan. Soon he was up to his tricks again—he fled, taking with him the "state coffers" in the form of a sackful of money weighing 67 kg.

According to Akbarsho Iskandarov, former speaker of the Tajik parliament and now the Republic's ambassador in neighboring Turkmenistan, talks between the authorities and the opposition are planned to take place in Gorno-Badakhshan, where he himself comes from. Although not with the entire opposition, since the majority of the population does not support the extremist intentions of some rebel leaders. This was why, in October, the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast self-defense forces presented the most "implacable" of the opposition with an ultimatum demanding that they leave the oblast's territory.

This is not the only evidence of a major rift that has developed of late between the "field commanders" and the opposition gunmen ensconced in Afghanistan and raiding from there. The contradictions are getting worse, particularly against the background of the abortive military offensives on the Tajik-Afghan border, which is being strengthened through the joint efforts of the CIS countries. On the other hand, the current lawful Tajik Government's policy of national reconciliation is bearing fruit. According to available data, many members of the opposition have expressed a positive opinion of the serious proposals made by Dushanbe officials.

Uzbekistan

Belarus' Shushkevich Begins Talks With Karimov

WS1412154993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich has begun talks with Uzbekistan President Karimov in Tashkent. The negotiations are devoted to expanding bilateral economic relations. Uzbekistan is interested in supplies of Belarusian foodstuffs, heavy-load trucks, hi-tech equipment, and consumer products in exchange for cotton, vegetables, and construction materials.

Two Ruling Parties To Contest Elections

MK1412144093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 5

[Mekhman Gafarly report using INTERFAX materials under the "Uzbekistan" rubric: "Parliament's Reorganization Is Just Around the Corner. Its Fate Will Be Definitively Decided in Late December"]

[Text] At the end of last week, the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet's Presidium approved a decree on opening a session of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet on 28 December in Tashkent. It is already known that its agenda includes 12 items. Particular attention will be paid to the discussion of the Republic's budget for 1994 and the draft law "On the Elections for the Oliy-Majlis of the Republic of Uzbekistan" (Oliy Majlis means Supreme Soviet), which calls for reorganizing the current parliament.

Under the draft law, the Uzbekistan Oliy Majlis will be made up of 150 deputies (presently the Supreme Soviet has 500 seats) to be elected in one-mandate territorial districts on a multiparty basis for a period of five years. The ruling bodies of political parties, oblast councils, the Tashkent city council, and also the Supreme Soviet of Karakalpakia, will have the right to nominate candidates to the Oliy Majlis.

Presently, only two political parties have been registered in Uzbekistan—the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (PDPU), headed by the current president, Islam Karimov, and the "Vatan Tarrakieti" ("Progress of the Fatherland") party under the president's state counselor, Usman Azimov. Both are governing parties. The Uzbekistan Justice Ministry denied registration as political parties to opposition movements, such as "Birlik."

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Brzezinski Visit

LD1412144793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1133 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Zbigniew Brzezinski, an adviser in the U.S. Center for Strategic and International Studies and former adviser on national security in the administration of Jimmy Carter, arrived in Tashkent. Uzbekistan's Foreign Ministry reported to INTERFAX that Brzezinski's visit should facilitate "development of future mutual relations between the two countries."

Armenia

Yerevan Reports Continued Military Clashes

Attacks, Retreat Reported

NC1412182393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Dear listeners, we now report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan's military forces have used every opportunity to make things worse on the NKR's frontline during the past few days. As well as firing on the Armenian defense positions with heavy arms, they have launched large-scale attacks. But the enemy forces have failed to achieve their objective. The counterattacks launched by the NKR's defense forces forced them to retreat after suffering many casualties. That is how the past four days of combat operations in that region can be summed up.

The Azerbaijani National Army [ANA] units in Beynaganskiy Rayon fired on the Armenian defense positions and then launched a large-scale attack on 10 December. Fierce fighting took place in the southeast of the frontline. The ANA units tried to occupy several strategically important heights. As we reported earlier, they advanced 3 or 4 km toward the Armenian positions, but they failed to maintain their onslaught and were forced to retreat to their own positions. There were dead and wounded on both sides.

The NKR Defense Army Press Service has revealed that combat operations continued without interruption on 13 December. But the situation in the theater of operations was relatively peaceful last night and this morning up to 1000.

Quoting the Azerbaijani Military Command Press Service, the neighboring republic's mass media have claimed that the Armenian side lost many men in the combat operations during the past three days. An official of the NKR Defense Army Press Service has described those claims as unfounded and said that the Armenian military units have launched no attack on Beynaganskiy Rayon.

The relatively peaceful situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan has also been disrupted. Several residential areas near Armenia's border have been intermittently fired on from Azerbaijan's territory. The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service has informed us that the ANA units fired on the border positions near [name indistinct] in Idzhevanskiy Rayon from 2200 to 2300 last night. The Armenian troops did not return the fire. No one was wounded in the firing. The situation elsewhere on Armenia's border was relatively peaceful. [passage omitted]

'Relative Calm' Returns

NC1412152693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service has reported that the enemy based in Kazakhskiy Rayon opened a barrage of machine-gun fire toward the Armenian defensive positions around Diran in Idzhevanskiy Rayon between 2230 and 2300 last night. Our side did not retaliate. There were no casualties. Relative calm has prevailed on the rest of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border since last night.

The situation remains tense in the southeast of the Karabakh front. Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army headquarters reported that the military (?clashes) continued on this confrontation line on 13 December. There were losses on both sides. The NKR Defense Army subunits sent the Azerbaijani troops back to their initial positions; they penetrated Karabakh's line of defense by 3-4 km the day before.

Relative calm has prevailed in the area of military operations since last night.

The NKR Defense Army spokesman said the Azerbaijani claim that the Karabakh units have attacked Beylagan Rayon do not conform with reality. Such claims were disseminated for propaganda purposes.

President Discusses Crisis, To Address Parliament

NC1412190293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0914 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 14 (SNARK) "I am sure Armenia will overcome the crisis", the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said to SNARK. At the same time he mentioned that the worse period will, probably, come. "But at last the Armenians will overcome all the obstacles to prosperity and blossom". Levon Ter-Petrosyan refused to comment on the serious changes in Russian-Armenian relations saying that he has to speak on the theme at the coming session of the Armenian Parliament.

Tomorrow the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will speak to the Armenian Parliament: He will introduce the annual report. This is the president's responsibility which is mentioned in the Law.

Meanwhile the social tension is being intensified in the Republic—it's closely connected with the unprecedented prices increase. The statement on the fact that the Armenian minimal salary is equal to 70 kg of bread while the Georgian minimal salary is equal to 4 kg has no effect.

Prime Minister Comments

LD1412201993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 14 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has named three major sources thanks to which the republic's population, "manages to sustain its existence." In his words, relatively cheap bread (one can buy 70 kilograms of bread for a minimum wage compared with 4 kilograms in Georgia), private monetary and food reserves of the population and assistance on the part of relatives and friends are the main ones. "Of course, it's a weak consolation, however, there are fortunately no mass robberies and murders," he declared addressing the session of Armenia's Supreme Soviet.

To this effect the president asked the parliament to provide time for his report on the social-political situation and Armenia's political activity over this year in the agenda of the December 15 session. In his words, fiscal policy would figure highly in his speech.

For his part, Armenia's Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan recognized that following the introduction of the national currency (dram the situation in the republic "remains extremely difficult." He spoke in favor of radical measures aimed at "achieving a real breakthrough within the next 2 weeks." "The situation cannot be improved spontaneously without real currency reserves, however he hopes that we shall manage to stabilize it."

Meanwhile, inflation in Armenia is still growing. The exchange rate for the dram against the dollar and ruble continues to fall. A week ago one dollar was sold for 55 drams and on Monday for 76, 1 dram for 16-18 and 25 rubles respectively.

Ter-Petrosyan: Transition Period May Last Decades

LD1412202693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan pointed out that the republic was going through a period of transition which might last for decades. He failed to say exactly when the decline in the Armenian economy would end and when it would be stabilized. "The situation may deteriorate," he emphasized.

The Armenian president considered the delayed adoption of laws and resolutions on privatization to be one of the major errors of the current authorities.

Commenting on his attitude to the opposition the president pointed out that "if forced by the situation there would be both a coalition government and new early elections." "However, now there is no need for this," he emphasized.

The Armenian president stated that he continued to stand for the urgent adoption of the constitution and for new presidential and parliamentary elections based on it.

Economy Minister on Controlling Central Bank

NC1412191593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1144 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 14 (SNARK)—Today the Government of Armenia required to bring into subjection the Central Bank of Armenia. Substantiating the necessity of the measure, Armen Yegiazaryan, the Minister of Economy of Armenia, said that under the terms of hyperinflation the factor of time is of determine importance. "If we don't stop the hyperinflation now, it will lead to the crash of the economy," said the Minister.

Simultaneously, he said the Government has the program of concrete measures, which will allow "to achieve radical changes".

Meanwhile, Isaac Issakyan, the President of Central Bank of Armenia, is against of subjection of the Central Bank to the Government. He said "On the vivid expression of the Russians, it means to give tavern to drunkard".

Parliamentarian Lashes Out at Handling of Economy

NC1412194393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1612 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 14, (SNARK)—There were the heated discussion at the Armenian Parliament, when the crisis situation, which caused by the adoption of national currency, is considered. The opposition accused the authorities of non-competence, corruption and required the Government's retirement.

David Vardanyan, the Chairman of National-Democratic Union and the Chairman Parliament Commission of Foreign Relations, said Ter-Petrosyan, the President, and the Armenian National Movement, which supports him, can not lead the Republic out the crisis situation.

The deputy appeal the President to recognize that his policy was baseless. Vardanyan said "People haven't got trust to the present authorities. New political forces, new people are to come into power." He said that National-Democratic Party has program of anti-crisis measures and can take on the responsibility in this situation. Vazgen Manukyan, the former Prime-Minister and Minister of Defence, belong this party.

Papazyan Holds Vienna Talks with IAEA Official

LD1412234293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0412 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Talks have been held in Vienna between Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan and IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] General Director Hans

Blix. Correspondent Alla Sitaryan reports that they discussed the resumption of work by the Armenian AES and possibilities for cooperation with the IAEA. Blix told Papazyan about the work of the IAEA and about the report of the three groups of experts sent to Armenia. He said the IAEA would do everything possible to help Armenia solve problems connected with safety and equipping the Armenian AES. Papazyan spoke about the question of the European Bank financing the work of reopening the Armenian AES and asked for help in this, and Blix promised to help in this regard.

Azerbaijan

Defense Ministry Statement Claims 'Hundreds' Killed

NC1412180093 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A statement by the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has said that the Republic's military forces have rebuffed a strong onslaught by the Armenian Armed Forces in Karabakh's south. The Armenian forces occupied three Azerbaijani towns near Iran's border. But they were quickly forced to retreat. According to the ministry, 200 enemy troops were killed and seven tanks were destroyed.

The statement also said the following:

Armenia maintains its aggression against Azerbaijan. On 10 December, Armenian Armed Forces artillery units intensely shelled two of Azerbaijan's residential areas in Kazakhskiy Rayon, which is far from the Armenian border and far from Karabakh. Several residents in the two areas were killed or wounded. The Armenian Armed Forces fired on several houses in Terterskiy Rayon on 11 December. Several civilians were killed.

Armenia launched a broad offensive against Azerbaijan's Beynaganskiy Rayon on 10 and 11 December. The Armenian Armed Forces attacked residential areas and penetrated up to 2.5 km into that territory. Hundreds of peaceful residents were killed or wounded and significant damage was caused. The occupying Armenians treated the corpses with contempt.

The statement said the Republic's fighters and the volunteer groups, which are made up of local residents, counterattacked and forced the enemy units to retreat. The latest provocative Armenian activities, which have escalated tension again, indicate that Armenia is trying to occupy Azerbaijan's cities and territories, despite its ostentatious claims that it supports the effort to find a peaceful solution to the dispute.

People's Front Protests Tehran Radio Report

MK1412143093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Azerbaijan"]

[Text] The People's Front of Azerbaijan has denied a 10 December Tehran Radio report about an attempted assassination of the Republic's ex-president Abulfaz Elchibey.

The People's Front of Azerbaijan has circulated a statement describing this report as yet another act of interference by the Iranian side in Azerbaijan's internal affairs.

The document, relayed to the AND-Press agency by the information center of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, stresses that this sort of information is aimed at causing confusion among the ranks of Abulfaz Elchibey's supporters. The statement also points out that similar actions are also taking place on the part of officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran. For example, during a recent meeting with Azerbaijan President Geydar Aliyev, Iranian parliament deputy Fatima Khumayun Mugaddam declared: "God forbid that any people should have such a leader as Abulfaz Elchibey." Such attacks on the part of representatives of Iran, the People's Front of Azerbaijan believes, not only fail to meet with an appropriate reaction from Azerbaijan's leaders, but they are also encouraged. The People's Front calls upon the Republic's leadership to make the necessary efforts to prevent interference by other states in Azerbaijan's internal affairs.

Georgia

Attempt at Amphibious Landing in Abkhazia Reported

LD1412170793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Georgian ships on Monday [13 December] tried to land an assault force in Abkhazia, according to the parliament of Georgia's breakaway republic.

In a statement released on Tuesday, the separatists' legislature says two ships and a barge carrying troops and heavy armored vehicles approached the shore of the republic's Gali District but were driven away by Abkhazian coastal artillery, some Abkhazians being wounded in the operation. The parliament says it regards the Georgian attack as a move designed to wreck the Geneva talks aimed at doing away with the consequences of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and formulating Abkhazia's political status.

A member of the Abkhazian mission in Moscow told INTERFAX the incident was the first clash between Abkhazian and Georgian forces since the war ended late in September.

Defense Ministry Denies Report

LD1512085593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] The CONTACT news agency reports that the press service of the Georgian Defense Ministry has released the following statement:

On 14 December, the Russian mass media circulated a report by the so-called Supreme Council of Abkhazia claiming that Georgian Armed Forces attempted to land an amphibious assault force in Gali Rayon.

The press service of the Georgian Defense Ministry is authorized to state that this report, spread by the Gudauta leadership, is false and slanderous. The Georgian Armed Forces have not attempted either to land an amphibious assault force or to conduct a military operation of any kind. The disinformation spread by the Abkhazians serves only one objective, which is to further strain relations between the two sides and wreck the Geneva peace talks.

Abkhazians Reportedly Decide on Ceding Gali Rayon

LD1412143693 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1120 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 14 Dec—IBERIA has learned that Abkhaz separatists and their mercenaries are reinforcing their positions along the banks of the River Galidzga, near Ochamchire city. It seems they have decided to cede Gali rayon to Georgia.

At present there are small Abkhaz units near the [right] bank of the River Enguri. Having burned and destroyed residential houses, they are now leaving Gali rayon.

Zviadists Disarmed, Arrested in West

LD1412183393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1814 GMT 14 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—The governmental troops continue to disarm unlawful armed formations of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters, and seize arms from the locals in western Georgia, sources at the press centre of the Georgian Interior Ministry told ITAR-TASS over the phone on Tuesday [14 December].

A wide assortment of modern weapons, including armoured vehicles and artillery installations, was expropriated following an operation in Megreliya on Tuesday, the sources said.

Four armed detachments, comprising about three thousand Gamsakhurdia's supporters, surrendered willfully to the governmental forces in December, according to the sources.

At the estimate of the governmental headquarters for emergencies in western Georgia, majority of the Megreliya's population supports Eduard Shevardnadze. This fact enables law-enforcement agencies to seize unlawfully owned arms more effectively.

According to the headquarters, locals contributed to the detainment of Igor Tolordava, the notorious commander of a Zviadist battalion, who had terrorized them for a long time and participated in the daring assaults on the district's police station and other criminal offences.

Igor Bodzhgua, director of a Senaki-based secondary school, was arrested on Tuesday on charges of participating in unsanctioned meetings, at which he called for disobedience and stirred up national strife.

Shevardnadze, Kvemo Kartli Governors Discuss Situation

LD1412182293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The CONTACT news agency reports that head of state Eduard Shevardnadze met today with the governors of Kvemo Kartli rayons to discuss, among other things, the complex crime situation in the region. The leaders of Marneuli, Bonisi, Tetri Tskaro, Gardabani and Dmanisi rayons said that the situation is especially acute on the roads, where incidents of robbery, armed banditry and kidnapping are commonplace. Farmers do not have an opportunity to take produce to the towns to sell, and people are not able to work freely. [passage omitted]

Special attention was paid to setting up regional branches of the Citizens' Union of Georgia. It was noted that the people are placing a lot of faith in the newly established powerful political organization, the main slogan of which is the country's reconstruction and revival

Eduard Shevardnadze outlined ways to achieve a radical improvement in the crime situation. For example, a meeting is scheduled for the end of this week to examine specific proposals to finally restore peace and normality in the region.

Further on Meeting

LD1412201193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A conference on problems facing the country was held in the parliament building yesterday. The conference was mainly attended by heads of towns and rayons, leaders of productional branches, and members of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Head of state Eduard Shevardnadze said: 1994 should become a turning point. This idea became a principal subject matter of all conference speakers. [passage omitted]

At the conference, the head of state issued spontaneous instructions on certain problems. A lot of problems concerning the issues of payment, impediment of banking transactions, New Year congratulations for children refugees, and others were settled on the spot. The speakers were unanimous when regarding the issue of restoring, developing, and expanding economic relations with the CIS countries, and with Russia in the first instance.

It is necessary to use most of the opportunities and do our best to revive our agriculture and cure economy. First of all, it is necessary to improve the situation in the power and fuel complex. The conference participants emphasized the huge debts in energy consumption. The debts comprises 129.7 billion coupons. Of these, debts for electricity comprise 60.6 billion, for petroleum products 41.5 billion, and for natural gas 17.6 billion coupons. The head of state said that no country could survive this amount of debt. Therefore, Sakgazi, Sakenergo, and Saknavtoproduktebi [state departments responsible for respectively gas, energy, and petroleum product supply and consumption] have to make payment demands more strictly, and in case of nonpayment stop supplying gas, power, and fuel until debts are fully paid off. The products should be supplied only if advance payment is received. It is mandatory to keep to the schedule of power rationing approved by the government. Because of irregularities when implementing the schedule, there have been large losses of cattle and poultry, bread cannot be baked, and telephone lines broke in certain areas.

Special attention was paid to problems concerning the railway network, and the necessity of improving the crime situation. It was indicated that fuel costing 22 million coupons had been misappropriated and nine railway carriages have been lost. [passage omitted] Having analyzed the whole situation in the republic, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the authority and role of governors should be enhanced because it is their duty to appoint real professionals to decisive positions in agriculture, and they have to take full responsibility for the restoration of agriculture. [passage omitted]

Premier Returns From Talks in Moscow 13 Dec

LD1412152493 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1120 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 14 Dec—Iberia reports that Otar Patsatsia, prime minister of the Republic of Georgia, returned from Moscow to Tbilisi yesterday. In Moscow he had a meeting with the Russian minister of fuel and power engineering and the heads of the power and gas departments. During the meeting an agreement was reached in principle which would open the way for Georgia to emerge from its energy crisis.

Opposition Deputies Pass Statement on 'Minority' Rights

LD1412221693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1939 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A conflict situation emerged in the Georgian parliament on Tuesday [14 December]. Even though on Monday the majority cancelled the plenary session scheduled for Tuesday, 39 opposition MP's [members of parliament] assembled and passed a statement on "the crude and cynical violation by the majority of Article 11 of the parliamentary regulations which prohibits encroachments on the rights of the minority. Confrontation in the Georgian parliament is growing, and the crisis can result in the suspension of its work. The next session is scheduled for Thursday.

Estonia

Meri Appoints New Interior Minister

LD1412183993 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri today issued a resolution, appointing Heiki Arike to become a member of the government and interior minister. The republic president also awarded the diplomatic rank of ambassador to Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste.

Special Economic Zone Planned in Paldiski

WS1412123193 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1827 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 13—Estonia's Economics Ministry is setting up a special economic zone at Paldiski, a former site of the Soviet submarine training base, MP Olav Anton from Riigikogu's centrist faction told the parliament on Monday [13 December].

The government had on August 19 issued a resolution on not considering practical giving Paldiski self-government status and on postponing local elections there. Thus, Paldiski has been removed from Estonia's legal and economic system, Anton claimed. He also said the government has agreed with a proposition by the Economics Ministry to draw special administrative regime for Paldiski.

Minister Urges ERSP To Leave Coalition

WS1312124393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1527 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, December 10—Minister of Transport and Communications Andi Meister (Estonian National Independence Party - ERSP) made a statement, on Friday [10 December], saying that he will make a proposition to the ERSP council meeting, on Saturday, to consider leaving the government coalition.

As the reason of his decision, Meister cited the fact that while discussing the state budget bill for 1994, Riigikogu voted down subsidizing delivery of periodical publications at countryside and subsidies to public transport were cut considerably.

"As a result of this action, spread of information in the country will be seriously hampered and poorer people will practically not be able to use public transport in Tallinn, " his statement says. "These steps are not in accordance with Ministry of Transport and Communications transport and communications policies and presumably ERSP standpoints, either."

"As it is a very fundamental issue in the government policy, I regard it as my duty to propose the council of ERSP, on December 11 meeting, to consider leaving the government coalition," the statement concludes.

At present there are two ERSP ministers in the government- Andi Meister, Minister of Population Peeter Olesk and the ERSP council is to propose its candidates for the post of Minister of Interior, to succeed Lagle Parek, dismissed by the President a few weeks ago.

Mine Union Leader Warns of Strike

WS1412101593 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Kohtla-Jarve, Estonia, Dec 11, BNS—Testing the patience of Estonia's miners may eventually lead to a strike, said Endel Paap, the leader of the country's mining union association. He said industrial action was being considered because the government has left out from its draft law on working conditions "even the last more favorable conditions for miners". Extra retirement pension regulations for miners were abolished already before.

"Our situation is further made worse by the fact that Estonia's power stations are buying coal from Russia, which is almost half cheaper than ours," the union leader told Russia's RIA news agency.

Estonia this year bought 1.25 million tons of coal from Russia. It is namely due to cheap coal imports from Russia that miners in the Northeast Estonian oil shale region have suffered jobs cuts and have to work shorter weeks, Peep said.

He added that miners had already on several occasions turned to Prime Minister Mart Laar for help in resolving the issue, but without any tangible result.

Mulitparty Rural Assembly Founded in Tartu

WS1312135893 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0852 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the 11 December POSTIMEES]

[Text] Monday, December 13—The Estonian Rural Assembly, linking several political parties and movements, was founded in Tartu on Friday [10 December].

Honourary Chairman of the Rural Union Ernst Kirs announced that the Assembly joins the Estonian Progressive Party, the Rural Centrist Party, the Rural Union, the Institute for National Development and Cooperation, the ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party] farmers' assembly, the Greens and a number of other organisations.

The Rural Assembly is to coordinate the member organisations' activities with the Riigikogu Rural Deputies' Association.

Arnold Ruutel attended the founding meeting.

Latvia

Saeima Delegation Visits French Parliament

WS1412123693 Riga LETA in English 1335 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, December 13 (LETA)—From December 11 to 15, the Saeima [parliament] Chairman, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Chairman of the Commission on Economic Policy, Voldemarks Novoksanovs, Chairman of the Commission on Education, Andrejs Silins, and member of the Foreign Commission, Karlis Leiskalns, are visiting the French Parliament on an invitation of a French-Latvian group of deputies from the French National Assembly. Members of the Latvian delegation are to observe French MP's work and their legislative practice. According to the Saeima press service, Anatolijs Gorbunovs will have meetings with presidents of the both chambers, chiefs of various commissions, the French-Latvian group of deputies and with Minister of the European Affairs and the European Union. During the visit the question concerning Latvia's integration in Europe is to be discussed.

Government Officials Visit Skrunda Radar Base

WS1412122993 Riga LETA in English 1335 GMT 13 Dec 93

[From the "Latvian Press Review"]

[Text] Riga, December 13 (LETA)—The key article of the week-end issue of "DIENA" announced: "Latvian Government visits radar base in Skrunda". The Latvian Prime Minister, Valdis Birkavs, gave a news conference at the premises of this Russian military site and said that two issues should be resolved at the talks with Russia, namely, the terms of dismantling of the base and the amount of compensation due to Latvia for material and moral damage. Martins Virsis, the head of the Latvian delegation at the bilateral talks with Russia, said that a draft document on compensation is being prepared. Following the visit to the base, the government members met with the residents of neighbouring villages who unanimously supported the elimination of the dangerous military site.

Spokesman Reviews Work of Border Guards

WS1412121393 Tallinn BNS in English 1617 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 13, BNS—Latvia's frontier guards passed their second anniversary since they were restored to service following the collapse of the Soviet empire.

The guarding of the Latvian state frontier was suspended in 1940, when the Baltic country became part of the Soviet Union.

The present frontier guards brigade consists of seven battalions with a total staff of 3,500 men. From those, 2,200 perform their armed service as frontier guards. Latvia operates 15 frontier check points on major international roads and 22 local points on smaller roads. Seven points are arranged on railways, four in seaports and two in airports.

Latvia has yet to conclude any official frontier agreements with other countries, except Estonia, said the brigade's spokesman Reinis Kazradzis.

Agreements with Belarus and Lithuania are ready for signature, while Latvia and Russia still lack an accord on the eastern frontier.

Kazradzis predicts that the Baltics will start guarding their common frontier in three years, while the mutual frontiers between Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia would be marked by customs checkpoints only.

This year, Latvian frontier officers checked 8.734 million persons, 1.258 million cars, 10,382 ships, 40,798 trains and nearly 10,000 planes. Between January and December, they detained 16,760 violations of frontier regulations. As many as 2,762 people graduated from frontier guards' training centers this year.

First Private Russian School Opens in Riga

WS1412124693 Riga LETA in English 1335 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, December 13 (LETA)—Last week-end Latvian Education Minister Janis Vaivads issued a license to the first private Russian school in Riga. The inauguration ceremony was also attended by the President of Latvia, Guntis Ulmanis. "It is the most sacred duty of a state to take care of its young generation," he said. "And we want that school to turn out intellectual and skilled persons. Everybody is proud of one's ethnic origin and holds it dear in one's heart, while the stability of a state is ensured by the totality of all nationalities and languages, which is the aim we are striving to achieve," the president said.

The private Russian school is located in the building of a former nursery school. At the moment, the school has 100 students, 10 for each year. The attendance fee is 40 lats per month.

Lithuania

President Creates Foreign Policy Coordination Council

LD1412212693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2000 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] A special foreign affairs council, headed by the president, has been set up to coordinate external policies of Lithuania's state institutions and to consider newly proposed moves in inter-state relations.

On Tuesday [14 December], Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas formed the Coordinating Foreign Affairs Council, consisting of the prime minister, the chairman of parliament, the foreign and defense ministers, as well as the presidential aide on external policies.

Landsbergis Sees Government 'Moving Nearer to Russia'

WS1412101293 Tallinn BNS in English 1603 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 11, BNS—The 1st congress of the Lithuanian Conservative Party, which began in Vilnius today, is to adopt the party's statutes and program for 1994-1997.

The chairman of the party, leader of the parliament's right-wing opposition Vytautas Landsbergis in his address before the meeting focused on the country's relations with Russia and voiced criticism against what he called the leadership's policy of moving nearer to Russia. In Landsbergis' words, some of the steps made by the country's current leaders were revealing attempts to legalize the former Soviet republic of Lithuania and recognize as legitimate the steps made by the occupation regime.

The opposition leader said that Russia in its policy was trying to "establish such kinds of economic interests in its neighboring countries, which could be later called strategical and vitally important, and which could then be protected".

Landsbergis in his speech called Russia a "problem neighbor". He said it was Russia's point of view that the only good relations are relations formed on the conditions set by Russia. Lithuanian authorities are afraid of having such kind of "bad relations" with Russia, he said.

The opposition leader accused his country's leaders of pursuing a policy favorable for Russia and not fulfilling their duty.

The two-day party meeting is also expected to adopt a number of resolutions.

The Conservative Party, much of what comes from the reformed Sajudis movement, is one of the most influential political forces in Lithuania. It has more than 10,000 members.

Program To Develop Communications Unveiled

WS1412115993 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1703 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] A governmental program for communications and informatics development has been made public in Lithuania drafted jointly by Lithuanian experts and scientists and Western consultancy firms.

The program was approved by a special governmental resolution passed December 2.

To be implemented through the year 2005, the primary objective of the program is to speed up Lithuania's integration into European economic system.

Under the program, all spheres in communications and informatics are to be either modernized or thoroughly restructured. The strategy of this process outlines 5 specific aspects:

- POLITICAL. The program does not envisage a complete free competition in the economy. The state's monopoly role will prevail in basic communications services, i.e. post, telephone and telegraph. Free competition, to be regulated through a system of licences, will involve provision of new types of communications services: data transmission and processing, mobile telephone communication, express mail, cable radio and television, etc.;

- STATE REGULATION. Direct administrative management in this field will be superseded with legal regulation through legislation and licensing;

- TECHNOLOGICAL. Development of communications and informatics infrastructure will be guided through creation of a digital telephone and telegraph system, as well as a network of international and intercity optic cable lines; expansion of mobile communication, creation and development of a national network for transmission of data and computerization of structures involved in state and economic management;

- ORGANIZATIONAL. Specialized state-run enterprises shall be restructured into joint stock companies and concerns with a 100- percent government stake to be sold later on to private business, both domestic and foreign;

- FINANCIAL. The EBRD is ready to provide government-guaranteed financing for telecommunications projects and effective tariff policies. It is projected that till the year 2005 the bank will provide preferential credits in the amount of up to 2.3 bln ECUs [European Currency Units]. To back the informatics and post projects budget allocations are planned to be provided along with attraction of foreign investment.

To fully implement the 1994-2005 program no less than 3 bln lits will be needed in investment. A part of this amount will be funded through state budget to involve 2-3 percent of the country's budgetary resources.

INFORMATICS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM is based on the Lietuva 2000 program made public a year ago which envisions for creation of a new government data infrastructure. Implementation of the program has already been started and is carried out by Lithuanian-French JV Nerisena founded with participation of Bull of France, the winner of a corresponding bid.

Under the initial stage of the program, a unified government data system will be established, as well as a data transmission network and an e-mail system.

COMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM includes plans to develop post services, periodicals trade infrastructure, telephone and telegraph network, television and radio, as well as radio communications management system.

Under the program, till 2005 Lithuania will have 40 telephone and till 2015 - 50 telephone per 100 residents. To this end, additional 50,000 telephone lines are to installed annually.

The mobile phone subscription is to reach almost 5,000, i.e. a 5- fold increase, compared to its current level.

	1993	1994	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
- number of phones (thsd)	900	920	950	1100	1250	1400	1600
- number of phones per 100 residents	25.7	26.2	27.1	31.7	35.7	40.0	45.7
- number of mobile phone subscribers	1000	2250	2550	4050	4852	5767	6780
- number of paging subscribers	200	600	1186	1300	1500	1800	2100
- number of data transmitting network subscribers	100		500	750			1250

As provided by the development plan, the country's old telecommuncations systems will be replaced by digital ones. Initially, digital communication will involve primarily businessmen as rates for the service shall be considerably higher than current phone c[illegible]. All the phones will be switched to the new system [illegible]015.

In developing Lithuania's television network it is projected to gradually switch to utilization of the PAL system. Taking into account that there are still about 0.5 mln TV sets which lack PAL decoders, the complete transfer to this system is planned to take place after the year 2000. The number of TV programs will be increased through a wider cable television network.

*** Preparation of certain parts of this program was participated by three Western consultancy firms selected in a EBRD-sponsored bid, namely: Danisch Telekonsult International and Carl Bro of Denmark and Detecon of Germany.

International bids to design the systems and equipment supplies will be announced shortly. Potential participants in these bids are Siemens company, Alcatel and Swedish-Danish Erikson.